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The Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul.

(From the Proceedings of the British Adademy, Vol.5.)

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THE BRITISH ACADEMY

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Additions and Corrections

By

Sir John Rhŷs
Fellow of the Academy

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THE CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF GAUL
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

By SIR JOHN RHYS

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read Nov. 22, 1911.

This paper is miscellaneous: it begins with a recently discovered group of inscriptions, which have not yet been edited with special regard to their philological characteristics, and it ends by returning to the Coligny Calendar. Our Celtic inscriptions are so scarce and therefore so enigmatic in their formulæ, that there is little hope of extracting their meaning except by attacking them repeatedly, and the greater the number of scholars who do so the greater the hope of tenable results. I flatter myself that I have made some progress, but I claim the right of further revision, whether as the result of the spade exposing new finds to the light of day or of philologists making fruitful suggestions leading to better ways of treating the material already in hand. It is needless to say that this process of revising and re-revising, one scholar improving on another's conclusions, is not agreeable to a certain class of minds; but I do not believe that an Academy so young as ours counts many Fellows who have a blank wall of finality before their eyes. When we cease revising the results obtained by ourselves and others, we may take it that we have ceased learning.

I

I have before me an offprint of a paper in the *Revue du Midi* containing an account of an important discovery in June, 1909, of five Celtic inscriptions near Cavaillon, the ancient Cabellio, in the Department of Vaucluse. It is from the pen of M. Mazauric, the able and courteous keeper of the Archæological Museums of Nîmes, and to his notes he has appended a useful plate bearing date October 14, 1909. He describes the circumstances of the finding of the stones, showing that there were a score or more together, but only five

with inscriptions on them, though four others appear to have once been inscribed with letters rendered illegible by the wear and tear of their surfaces: those I have not seen. He has come to the conclusion that they had all been used to mend a road after one of the frequent floods of the local stream called the Coulon. He thinks that as monuments they stood alongside an ancient Roman road near where it issued from the old Cabellio, and that they were not carried to the spot where they have been found (about four kilometres from that town) till the fourth or fifth century of our era, a conclusion which he appears to have drawn from his finding on two of the stones 'le monogramme du Christ gravé à la façon des *graffiti*'—the reference is to the second stone and the third in the following list.

I should have said, that the five stones are now in the space enclosed in front of the old hospital, a building which has been bought, with great public spirit, by M. Michel Jouve and his brother and sister, in order to fit it up as a public museum. There, with their assistance, I examined the stones. Since then they have been good enough to superintend the photographing of the inscriptions. See photographs 1–5, which they have generously presented to me for the following notes:—

1. M. Mazauric gives the height of this stone as about 2 metres including the piece protruding at the bottom (0^m 21) as tenon for insertion into the pedestal: the side measure at the bottom he gives as 0^m 46 and that at the top 0^m 40. He restores it in his sketch and speaks of it thus:—'Nous avons dit que cette superbe tombe était complète. L'ensemble de la plinthe, de la stèle et de la pyramide mesure environ 2^m 54 de haut.' The reading is:—

ЄΛΟΥΙCCΑ
ΜΑΓΟΥΡЄΙ
ΓΙΑΟΥΑ

The last vowel but one of the second line is rounded, Є not Ε; but the one at the beginning is so damaged that nothing is left except the three extremities. Even harder to read is the first letter of the third line: it is impossible to be certain whether it was Γ or Τ. On the whole it seems to me somewhat more likely to have been the former than the latter. Lastly, the second line is so close to the first that the top of the Γ covers a portion of the lower part of the Ο above it.

Holder in his *Altceltischer Sprachschatz* cites the name *Elvissa*, together with *Elvisius*, from Mariasaal in Carinthia: see the Berlin *Corpus Inscr. Latinarum*, III. 4909; also *Elvisso*, genitive *Elvissonis*, ibid., III. 5523. ΜΑΓΟΥΡЄΙ (with ΜΑ ligatured) appears to be the genitive of *Magureos*, a name which would seem to mean 'related

to, or having to do with, *Maguros*', possibly 'son of *Maguros*'. *Magureos* may perhaps be treated as a variant of *Magurios*, cited by Holder as *Magurius* (fem. *Maguria*), from Rosendorf in Carinthia *C. I. L.*, III. 4962, Linz III. 6010. 128, Padua V. 2787, Trent V. 5034, Rome VI. 5750. The occurrence of these names as far east as Carinthia suggests questions which I am not prepared to discuss, but the fact should be noted.

What is to be made of *Giava* or *Giaṷa* is very uncertain, and before facing that difficulty let us see how the epitaph is to be construed. Two ways occur to me; (1) one of them is that which I suggested in my former paper on *The Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy* (p. 21) in the case of the column from L'Isle-sur-Sorgue, now in the Musée Calvet at Avignon. This I should now read—

ΑΔΓΕΝΝΟΡΙΓΙ
ΟΥΕΡΕΤΕ[Ι] ΜΑΡΕ[ΟΟ]ΥΙ

'To *or* for Adgennorix Mareus [son] of Vereteos,' after the model of Roman inscriptions like *Devilliae Catulini fil. Titiolae*, 'Of Devillia Titiola, daughter of Catulinus.' So in the present instance one might translate—'Elvissa Giava, daughter of Magureos.' (2) The other rendering would be as follows:—'Elvissa, the *Giava* of Magureos.' The only objection to this syntax is that the usual position of the genitive is not before but after the noun governing it; but in the early stages of Celtic when the case endings were intact, such a construction had probably not become the rule. Indeed, Celtic poetry still offers plenty of exceptions: for one Irish instance see *Dé Mog*, 'God's Slave,' on page 5 below. Setting this aside, we have 'Magureos's Giava', suggesting some such translation as Magureos's wife, sister, daughter-in-law, cousin, or niece. The word for *daughter* is excluded by the fact that the word for son or daughter seems never to have been inserted in such inscriptions. If we treat *Giava* as a word expressing family relationship the only hope of identifying that relationship must rest on the probable etymology of the word. The following occurs to me:—There is a common Welsh word *gïau*, older spelling *gieu*, 'sinews, muscles,' singular *gewyn* (for *giéw-yn*), Cornish *geiow*, 'sinews,' singular *geien*: I have not detected any form of the word in Irish. If we look at 'sinew' as meaning a kind of cord or string, we may compare Latin *nurus* (for **snusus*) and German *Schnur* in the sense of 'string, or tie', and *Schnur* 'a daughter-in-law': for the chief cognates see Walde's *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. *nurus*. *Giava* may have meant any one of the relationships which I have suggested; but it is natural to regard it as synonymous with such Indo-European words as *Schnur*, *nurus*, and Greek *νυός*. The render-

ing of the epitaph in that case would be 'Elvissa, daughter-in-law of Magureos'.

In Stokes's *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, translated into German and edited (as the 2nd part of Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*) by Bezzenberger, p. 117, a stem *gjâ* is given, meaning 'a sinew, tendon, chord, string': it is illustrated by a Welsh *gi*, '*nervus*,' plural *giau*, and further by the Sanskrit *jyâ*, fem. 'a bowstring', Greek *βιός*, 'a bow,' Lithuanian *gijà*, 'a thread or string.' I have never met with Welsh *gi* except in Dr. Pughe's dictionary, nor do I believe that *gieu* was originally a plural; but the use of the isolating derivative *giewyn* tended to give it the force of a plural as in other cases of the kind. Further, the accentuation of the cognate forms convinces me that the starting-point was not *gjâ* but rather *g̯ujâ* or *g̯uiâ*. That is to say our *giava* was *g̯iáu̯a*, but for an earlier *g̯uiáu̯a*. This was lightened of the *u̯* just as *gíewyn* in modern Welsh has dropped the *i̯* in becoming *géwyn*, which is the actual form. Otherwise *gjâ* over against *βιός* would remain without a parallel: see Pedersen's *Vergleichende Grammatik*, I. 108. In other words both *βι-ός* and *gi-áva* come from *g̯ui-* meaning sinew, tendon, string, or bond of connexion, so that the derivative *giavā* would mean a woman who stood in the position of being a bond of relationship between two families, such as a daughter-in-law.

We may possibly have the word for consort, yoke-fellow, wife, formed with the aid of the preposition *du* (in English '*to*') imbedded in the names *Dugius* and *Dugia*, *Dugiavus* and *Dugiava*, much as if we met with *Conjugalis* as a cognomen in Latin. They occur chiefly in Latin inscriptions in the neighbourhood of Brescia and Lake Garda in North Italy: see Holder, s.vv. *Dugius*,[1] *Dugiava*. A good parallel is supplied by a Celtic compound *Comiogia*, which occurs in an inscription beginning with *Enica Comiogia Nevi f(ilia)* found in the neighbourhood of Saluzzo in Piedmont (*C. I. L.*, V. 7641). *Comiogia* might also be rendered by *Conjugalis*, as *Com-i̯og-*[2] exactly

[1] He gives sometimes a spelling with *c* instead of *g*. This is due partly perhaps to the confusing of names of different origins by his authorities and partly to misreading on their part, which is hard to avoid in the case of G and C in ancient inscriptions in the Latin alphabet. Of the feminine the *Revue Celtique*, III. 166, has the spelling *Dugiavva*, from Brescia, on the authority of Muratori, MCCLXXIII. 6.

[2] The ancient combination *og* was liable in Brythonic to be modified into *ou̯* or *ow*, which in North Wales became successively *ew*, *eu*, *au*: thus *iau* (pronounced *i̯au*) is the book Welsh for 'yoke, *jugum*'. But in most of South Wales *ou̯* or *ow* was only changed into *ou*, which to my hearing is sounded *oi* or something very near *oi*. Thus what is called in Mid-Wales and North Wales *i̯au* is in the South *i̯ou*: it was

covers the *con-iug-* of *con-iug-s* = *conjux*, genitive *con-jug-is*. Putting aside the prefix *com* = Latin *con*, the rest of the word is formed like Greek *ζυγία* which is applied to Hera, Juno Jugalis, as patroness of marriage, *συ-ζύγιος*, *συ-ζυγία*, 'joined, united, joining.'

2. This is a fragment of a column measuring $0^m 38$ each side, with the present height of $0^m 60$. It reads:—

ΒΑΛΑΥΔΟ
ΥΙΜΑΚΚΑΡΙΟ
ΥΙ

The lower part of the last ΥΙ has disappeared with the lost piece of the stone. But none of the letters are subject to doubt. The inscription makes the two names Βαλαυδουι Μακκαριουι, and they would seem at first sight to be both of them datives of the *u* declension with *ουι* as in Γρασελουι and Ειουι. But after reading Dr. O. A. Danielsson, *Zu den Venetischen und Lepontischen Inschriften* (Leipzig, O. Harrassowitz), I am forced to regard the datives in *-ουι* as belonging to the *o* declension. The analogy of the other Cavaillon epitaphs would have led one, it is true, to expect a nominative here, but a dative *-ουι* sounds more natural than a nominative *Balaudui*, and probably represents an older stage of the more usual dative in *ū* of the *o* declension. So I transcribe the epitaph into Latin spelling as *Balaudui Maccarivi*, meaning 'To Balaudos (son) of Maccarivos'. With *Balaudui* compare *Latumarui*, p. 10 below.

By *Maccarivi* one is reminded in the first place of *Macarus* and *Macarius* which Holder describes as partly Greek and partly Celtic; but if we may trust the spelling we seem to have a vocable more

written so also in Old Cornish: see the *Phil. Soc. Transactions*, 1860-1, p. 241. When, however, *oụ* was immediately followed by *i* (or *y*) it was not changed into *ou* on account of the difficulty which we find in pronouncing *u* and *i* together. So though we have *cyfieu-ad*, 'a yoking or joining together; conjunction; conjugation,' we have an archaic adjective with *-in*, which takes the form of *cyfiew-in*, 'equal, like, similar; even' (Silvan Evans's *Geiriadur*, s.v.), as it were under the same yoke as a means of colligating or joining together. This is often disregarded in book Welsh, as for instance in *llysieu-yn*, 'a herb,' from *llysieu*, *llysiew-*, 'herbs'; but the genuine form, still in use in colloquial Welsh, is *llysiew-yn*, or *llysew-yn*: compare *giew-yn* already mentioned. Among other instances in point may be mentioned Welsh *meu-dwy*, '*servus Dei*,' with *meu* corresponding to Irish *mug*, *mog*, genitive *moga*, 'a slave,' whence Irish *Dé mog* (Stokes's *Oengus*, pp. 4, 10) for *Mug Dé*, 'servus Dei'; and *Lleu* to Irish *Lug*, genitive *Logo*. The commoner form of *Lleu*, however, is *Llew*, while the old compound *Lugu-ber* makes Welsh *Lleufer*, 'a luminary, a light,' literally, 'a light-bringer': see Holder, s.v. *Locuber*. Take also *Ogmios*, probably pronounced in Gaulish *Ogmiio-s*, and making in Welsh *Euvid*, the name of one of the Sons of Dôn: see the *Cymmrodor*, XXI. 4-7, 62.

closely akin in the widely spread name of the potter *Maccarus*, in *Maccius*, *Macco*, *Macconus*, *Maccus*. Perhaps we may compare the Welsh *mach*, 'a surety, a bail, a bond or pledge.' In that case the second name may be treated as a compound *Macca-rivos*, genitive *Macca-rivi*, and interpreted as the 'surety or pledge of Rivos' or perhaps as 'one pledged or dedicated to Rivos, the bondsman of Rivos', the divinity meant being the god who figures in the month of August in the Coligny Calendar. The spelling with *kk*, *cc*, leads me to think that the names of this group are not derived from the Greek word μάκαρ, 'beatus.'

This is one of the stones on which M. Mazauric found the monogram: his note reads thus:—'La face latérale gauche offre des traces de graffiti gravés après coup. L'un d'eux reproduit incontestablement le monogramme du Christ que l'on retrouve si fréquemment sur les sarcophages des IV^e^ et V^e^ siècles. Faut-il voir là une sorte de christianisation de la pierre?'

3. This stone is 1^m^ 30 in height and each of the sides 0^m^ 38 at the bottom and 0^m^ 32 at the top, near which the inscription is placed, as follows:—

KABIPOCOYI
NΔIAKOC

That is Καβιρος Ουινδιακος; the I at the end of the first line is a little bit faint and the P is damaged; so is the A in the second line. The I before the A joins it. The syntax of this epitaph is clear enough. *Vindiaco-s* is an adjective qualifying *Cabiros* and meaning 'related to *Vindios*, connected with *Vindios*', but in what way exactly we have no means of deciding. It might possibly mean in the sense of being son of *Vindios* or in some way associated with *Vindios*. Compare *Anvalonnacos*, derived from the god's name *Anvalos*: see my *Celtic Inscriptions*, v, also other instances in xiii, xv, xvii. *Vindios* is derived from the adjective *vindo-s*, *vindā*, 'white,' Irish *find*, Welsh *gwyn*, fem. *gwen*, 'white.'

The name Καβιρος is found elsewhere, to wit, on a stone discovered at Cologne, which reads *Gato Cabiri f*(*ilio*) *civi Viromanduo* (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 8342: see also 8341). The *Veromandui* gave their name to Vermandois, the district, roughly speaking, around the town of St. Quentin. Holder cites also a CABIRIACVS derived from *Cabiros* and yielding the modern place-name *Chabrac*, near Tulle, in the Dep. of Corrèze, and a Merovingian coin of the seventh century reading CABIRIACO VIC from Belfort. He also cites *Cabrus* from York, from Castel near Mainz, and from other places: it is probably a shortened form of Καβιρος, *Cabirus*, from which he derives a name *Cabrianecum*

which derives immediately from *Cabrian-*: this reminds me of *Chabran*, the name of a street at Cavaillon. Thus we have traces of the existence in the past of the name Καβιρος, *Cabirus*, in places so far apart in France as Cavaillon and St. Quentin, Tulle and Belfort.

The meaning and derivation of the name offer considerable difficulties, which, as far as I can recall, have never been discussed. Celtic philology throws no certain light upon Καβιρος, and one cannot help thinking that it is the singular of the Greek Κάβειροι or Κάβιροι. The home of the cult of the Κάβιροι was Samothrace and Lemnos. The question then is how the name spread in Gaul; in this connexion it should be noted, that from an early date in the cult of the Cabiri in Samothrace and Lemnos they were popularly associated with the Dioscuri. In time that association led to their being identified with one another. On these points we need only consult Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des antiquités grecques et romaines* under the words 'Cabires' and 'Dioscures'. In the identifying or confounding of the Cabiri with the Dioscuri, the characteristics of the latter were probably the more conspicuous in the cult as practised in Gaul. This I take to be indicated by one of the Notre-Dame altars, now to be seen at the Musée de l'Hôtel de Cluny in Paris. I refer to that which has on its four sides representations of the horned god Cernunnos, Pollux, Castor, and Smertullo. Compare *Dioscorus* as a man's name at Nîmes, for which see *C. I. L.*, XII. 3508, also 4550. The cult of the Cabiri and Dioscuri probably reached Gaul through the same Roman channels as the cult of Cybele, Mithras, and other eastern divinities. Statues of the Dioscuri are by no means rare in France, and one of the last discovered was on Mont-Auxois: it has been described in the periodical *Pro Alesia* (Armand Colin, Paris), 1906, p. 40, plate ix.

Lastly, there are near the foot of this stone certain symbols on the meaning of which M. Mazauric declines to pronounce an opinion. All that I remember about them is that I detected there a roughly sketched fish's head. He adds—'Je dirai simplement que ces signes sont certainement contemporains de l'inscription qui est au-dessus.'

4. This stone is 1^{m} 22 high: the sides are uniform, measuring each 0^{m} 42. The inscription consists of four lines at the top, which has been damaged, the upper portion of most of the letters in the first line having been carried away, together with the beginning of all the lines. The following are the details of the reading:—

The first letter is a straggling M the first limb of which I could not find, but the photograph (No. 4) shows exactly where it was. Its last limb is joined by an I or rather the end of it is cut through vertically by that letter. We then read TIEC, and if you scrutinize the photo-

graph you will see by the side of the imperfect C a faint, well-formed I, which I did not succeed in detecting when looking at the stone; for the next thing I read was a shallow stop. Then comes what I misread as an incomplete A which the photograph shows to be another straggling M with its last limb produced upwards to make an I. We then have the greater part of a T with room for nothing more, the reading of the whole line being MITIECI · MIT. Most of the second line is occupied by the letters MAΓOY, which are quite clear in spite of bits of the surface having disappeared in the MA and between the Y and the A in the line below. The length of the top of the Γ will be noticed, the non-circular shape of the O in contrast to the O in the last line, and the sprawling appearance of the Y which is repeated in this same line. Now before the M I found a stop, and before that stop the photograph shows the top of a C together with a trace of its lower end. Behind the C there can have been no big letter, nothing larger than an I, and the photograph shows enough of the groove of that letter to indicate exactly where it was in the damaged part at the edge. The whole line thus reads IC · MAΓOY. The third line begins with a T cut further from the edge than the initials of the other lines. It is followed by an I, to which a breakage gives something of the appearance of a triangle upside down. Then comes what I took to be another stop followed by an O of a more unusual form than the one in the second line; but it seems partly due to a bit of the surface being damaged low down towards the reader's left hand. As it is, it looks as if the inscriber had begun cutting the upper part of a big A. After the O come NNA, of which the second N is badly formed, and the A has an accidental scratch reaching from its shoulder to the top of the Y above it. The fourth and last line begins with an imperfect K, the back of which is gone, leaving the arms sticking out: the lower arm ends in a fine line formed by the slipping of the workman's tool. The letter is needlessly large and the next one is a fairly well shaped O placed too far away from the K as if escaping from the latter's outstretched arms to shelter itself near the YI which finish the epitaph. A breakage which affects the top of the Y spreads back to the circumference of the O. Putting all this together the epitaph reads as follows:—

MITIECI · MIT
IC · MAΓOY
TI · ONNA
KOYI

You will have noticed that we have here two kinds of T: the first is the capital with its perpendicular groove worn shallow towards the

bottom. The other tends to a minuscule form with the top stroke greatly produced backwards. The stops I should not have detected in the photograph; on the other hand until M. Jouve sent me the photograph I had not discovered the final ι of Μιτιεσι or read correctly the following ΜΙ; these failures prevented the possibility of my construing the epitaph. As it now stands the reading may be regarded as certain, although at the first glance it looked desperate.

With the words separated it reads Μιτιεσι · Μιτις · Μαγουτι · Ονναϲουι, which I propose to render thus: Mitiesis (and) Mitis (children) of Magutios and Onna. This suggests several questions, such as whether the two first names refer to two persons or one. Now *Mitiesi*, presumably for a fuller form *Mitiesis*, is clearly a derivative from the shorter *Mitis*. This makes it somewhat more natural to treat them as two names, those, let us say, of a sister and a brother (or sister), rather than to regard *Mitis* as an epithet or surname: it looks more like a proper name than an ordinary adjective. To what origin it must be assigned, it is hard to say. Holder cites *Mitiacum* (? *Miciacum*) and *Mitiganna* (? *Meliganna*), besides a larger variety beginning with *met-*, including *Metela*, *Metilius*, *Metillius* which is, perhaps, to be explained as *Međđill-ius*. The Neo-Celtic words which suggest themselves are such as Irish *air-med*, 'measure,' from an early *metiô-r* of the same meaning and origin as Latin *metior*, 'I measure,' and Welsh *medi*, 'the act of reaping,' from an early *metô* of the same origin as Latin *meto*, 'I reap or mow': see Stokes-Bezz., pp. 203, 206. There are some personal names which may perhaps limit the etymological possibilities a little, such as Medieval Welsh *Mydan* where the *d* may = *t* subjected to the usual lenition and so in *Myd-naw*, *Myd-no* ('Iolo MSS.', pp. 102, 109, 139) made in Modern Welsh into *Bydno*, the name of a small tributary of the Wye, near Pant Mawr above Llangurig, in Montgomeryshire. It is possible that *Mydno* equates with the Irish name *Mid-gnu*, *Mid-nu* (Book of Leinster, f. 369^{c}, 372^{a}). Stokes gives in his *Oengus* a 'mac Midna mic Meite' (p. 100). The difficulty as to the Irish names with *mid-* is that some of them doubtless involve the word for the ancient drink *mid*, 'mead.' Perhaps this does not apply to the name *Mithigen* (Book of Leinster, f. 317^{c1}, 340^{a}), which Prof. Kuno Meyer's 'Rawlinson B. 502' gives as *Mithigén* and *Mithigeán* (129^{b}, 151^{b}), but the name is obscure. The termination in *Mitiesis* reminds one of the form of such river names as *Atesis* and *Tamesis* (also *Tamesa*), but we cannot be sure that the pronunciation was not *Mitiessis*, which might be associated with names collected by Holder to illustrate the affix

-ess- as in *Antessius*, *Revessio*, and especially *Lucressis*, by the side of which he has *Lucressa*.

We now come to *Maguti*: the nominative to which it is to be referred was probably *Magutios*, with the same *magu* as in *Magurei*, already mentioned: Holder gives such instances (s. v. *-ūt-io-*) as *Ammutius*, *Cillutius*, and *Taranutius*, and he has parallel formations under *-itio-*, *-atio-*. Similar derivatives occur also in Irish, as for instance in the Ogmic genitive *Lugutti*, written also *Lugudi*, a name found in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* (Reeves, 74, 236) as *Lugudius*: the base is the *Lugu-* of the god Lugus's name, in Irish *Lug*, genitive *Logo* (later *Loga*). Another is *Curcitti*, derived from an ancient form of the name *Corc*, genitive *Cuirc*. In later Irish the derivative was spelt *Corcthe*: see the Book of Leinster, fol. 325[f].

The English rendering which I have just given has shown you that I treat *-κουι*, *-qu̯i*, as a Celtic equivalent of Latin *-que*, 'and,' also that I regard Onna here as a genitive. More precisely I should write it *Onnā*, for an older *Onnās*, to be compared with such old Latin genitives as *viās*, *fortunās*, *familiās*, and Greek χώρᾱς, θεᾶς. This genitive survives in Irish in the form *mná* (= *mnā*) '*mulieris*', and *inna*, *na*, 'of the' (fem.). This *ā(s)* appears to have been the early termination: see Brugmann[ii], II. II. i. 152, 284, 361, who goes so far as to suggest that the usual *e* of Irish genitives feminine like *tuaithe*, 'of a tribe,' has only been adopted from another declension (ibid. 154). The conjunction *-κουι* or *-qu̯i* seems to me to have belonged elsewhere to the language of the inscriber of the rejected version of the Todi bilingual. He was the better cutter of letters on stone, but his Latin was faulty, and, among other blunders, he perpetrated *statuitqui* for *statuitque*. I am inclined to explain his doing so on the supposition that the conjunction was *-qui*, not *-que*, in his own language: see my *Celtic Inscriptions*, p. 71. In an inscription in a Gaulish dialect on a vessel found at Ornavasso, on the Toce, near Lago Maggiore in North Italy, our *-qui* = Latin *-que* is represented by *-pe*. The vessel reads *Latumarui* : *Sapsutaipe* : *uinom* : *naśom*, meaning 'For Latumaros and Sapsuta[1] . . . wine'. See Danielsson, loc. cit., pp. 17–19. His reasoning convinces me that the inscriptions known as Lepontic are Celtic, and I hope to find an opportunity to see them.

I have said nothing as to the etymology and meaning of Onna for the sufficient reason that they elude me. Possibly, however, we have this vocable in the Ονε- of Ονερεστ- on a stone from St. Saturnin-

[1] The dative *Sapsutai* recalls Εσκεγγαι, Αιουνιαι, and Βλανδοονικουνιαι (*Celtic Inscr.*, pp. 20, 76).

d'Apt. The other element here may be derived from the name which gives the genitive RESTI on an Arles stone to be seen in the Musée Calvet at Avignon: see my *Celtic Inscriptions*, No. viii; also No. xvi[a], where M. Romyeu's MS. is mentioned as recording an inscription reading ON ΘΟΥΟΠΟ ΔΙΟΥΙ · ΒΡΑΤΟΥ (not BRATOY). The stone came from the ruins of Glanum and should be at St. Remy, but it cannot be found. The Cavaillon inscription to be mentioned next, with O and C ornamented with a central point, suggests the legend ONOOYOΠO ΔIOYI · BPATOY[ΔE KANTEN], 'Onovopos (gave) firstfruits to the goddess according to her command.' Here the Π may mean *p* or else ΓI or TI.[1] That, however, must remain uncertain at present.

5. This stone measures 1[m] 44 high, and the sides are uniform, measuring each 0[m] 44. The reading is as follows:—

MICCO
YKΘC
ЄIΛOY
KNΘЄ

That is Μισσουκος Σιλουκνος, which should mean Missucos, son of Silus. Holder quotes *Sīlus*, fem. *Sīla*, from Latin authors and inscriptions. The first syllable of *Missucos* is probably to be equated with that of *Missillus*, cited by Holder, together with other spellings *Medsillus*, *Meddillus*,[2] and a feminine *Messilla*. Here *Missucos* and

[1] With ΓI the name would be Ονο-ονογιο with a second element which could be identified with the *γogi* of the compound *Vogi-toutus* in an inscription near Greifenberg in Carinthia, reading according to the *Corpus*, III. 4724:—'Atestati Bricconis f(ilio) patri Devvae Atiougon. f(iliae) matri C. Antest(ius) C. f(ilius) Lutumarus M. Antest(ius) C. f(ilius) Vogitoutus Antestia C. f(ilia) Banona'; and another (No. 4908) reading 'Daphino G(ai) Juli Vogitouti l(iberto).' The former is remarkable among other things for containing as a woman's name *Devvae*, dative of Devva, that is *Dēvva* or *Dēva*, the feminine of *dēvos*, the Celtic word for god, which occurs in the Coligny Calendar (p. 92) as a dative DEVO. In other words Atiougo's daughter was called *Devva* or Goddess; but there was another Celtic word for goddess which we have in the vocative as *devvi* in one of the Rom *defixiones*, and we have it here in M. Romyeu's copy as ΔIOYI, that is *diui*, and the inscription falls readily into the Bratude group as Ονοονογιο Διουι . βρατου[δε καντεν]: see my *Celtic Inscriptions*, pp. 33, 84. *Vogi-tout-* and Ονο-ονογι- remind one somewhat of such Greek names as Ἐχέ-πολις, Ἐχέ-δημος, with εχε for ϝεχε, and Ἀστύ-οχος, Ἡνί-οχος with ὄχος for ϝοχος.

[1] The *dd* appears to represent a lisping pronunciation common in Gaul of *ss* where apparently that was derived from *ns*, and there seems to have been an intermediate spelling with *ds*, for besides Holder's *Medsillus* and *Messila* we have such instances as *Ressatus* or *Redsatus*, *Ressi-marus* or *Redso-marus* cited by him from Carinthia (*C. I. L.*, III. 4727). As a variant of the spelling with *ds* we may regard *dx* in the nominative *midx*, 'month,' in the Coligny

Missillus or *Međđillus* are probably reduced forms of some such compounds as *Messi-gnatos* or *Međđi-gnatos*: Holder gives the derivative *Međđignatius* from Brambach's *Corpus Inscr. Rhenanarum*, 1336. Possibly the element *missu* may be of the same origin as Latin *mens-* in *mensus*,[1] *mensor*, *mensura*, *mensa*: see Walde's Dictionary.

*** We must not leave Cavaillon without mentioning the inscription discovered a few years ago by M. Michel Jouve on the right bank of the river Durance. I reached Cavaillon from Avignon in the afternoon; M. Jouve took me at once over various archæological sites near the town, and we climbed to the hill of Saint-Jacques, which lies between the town and the Durance, and presents a highly precipitous side to the river. On the top are the remains of a very ancient

Calendar; it is of the same origin as Latin *mensis*, and is represented in the Neo-Celtic languages by Irish *mí*, genitive *mís*, Welsh *mis*, Cornish *mis*, Breton *miz*. Such forms as *Veliocasses* and *Veliocaθis* seem to imply a word *cansa* or *canso-* which in the Teutonic languages yielded the Gothic word *hansa*, 'a band or cohort,' German *hanse*, A.-Saxon *hôs*, 'a society or guild.' In the Neo-Celtic languages I trace it in the Cornish *casgoord* glossing *satellites*, 'attendants, escort, train, retinue,' in later Cornish *cosgor*, *cosgar*, 'a retinue.' *Casgoord* occurs in the Bodleian MS. 572, fol. 43^{b}: see Zeuss, *Gram. Celtica*[ii], p. 1062, and Stokes, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1860–1, p. 243. The *oo* in *casgoord* probably means that the word was accented *casgórđ*: the Breton form is given in the Catholicon as *coscor*, 'famille, mesgnie,' Latin 'familia'. Dr. Davies in his dictionary gives the Welsh as *cosgordd* and *gosgordd*, a corrupt form, which is the only one used in Modern Welsh. But *cosgordd* is not actually the oldest spelling, for the MS. of the Nennian Genealogies has in pedigree xii *Eleuther. cas cord. maur*, that is, *E. cascord maur*, 'E. of the great retinue': see the *Cymmrodor*, IX. 175. *Casgoord*, *cascord* analyses itself into *cas-gorđ* from an early compound *cansa-coriọ-* with the *coriọ-* which we have in the Irish *caire* or *coire*, 'a band or troop,' in Gothic *harjis*, 'a host, legion,' A.-Saxon *here*, German *heer*, 'an army.' So Welsh *cas-corđ* or *cos-gorđ* would mean the host or band of the village or community, just as *trefgorđ* = *treba-coriọ-*, 'the people of the *tref* or homestead': see Owen's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, I. 258, where it is spelt *trefcort*. We have *corđ* not only in *corđlan*, 'the village pen or fold,' now *corlan*, mostly 'a sheep pen', but possibly also in the nickname Iđawc Corđ Prydein, which would in that case mean 'Iđawc of the retinue of Picts': see 'Rhonabwy's Dream' in the Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 147.

[1] This *mens-* is represented in the Irish *mess*, 'judicium' (Zeuss[ii], 787), Mod. Irish *meas*, 'estimation, award, appraisement' (O'Donovan); there is also a compound *coimhmheas* meaning 'a comparison, contest'. Both occur in a passage in Keating's *History of Ireland* (Dinneen, vol. II, p. 198), where one reads that, after Conall Cernach had slain Meisceadhra in single combat, his rivals Laogaire and Cúchulainn ceased to contest the champion's morsel with him. The words are:—*do léig Laoghaire is Cú Chulainn da gcoimhmheas ré Conall, ar n-a mheas nach dearna ceachtar díobh féin a chomhmor soin do ghníomh goile na gaisgid riamh*, 'Laoghaire and Cúchulainn ceased measuring themselves with Conall, as they reckoned that neither of them had ever performed so great a deed of bravery or valour.'

stronghold, still showing a piece of walling made up of big stones overlooking a deep hollow leading down to the backwaters of the Durance. The land on which the ancient fortress stood has been purchased by M. Jouve in order to prevent the destruction of the old wall there. From this high ground we could see over against us, in the distance across the river, the site of the ancient town of Glanum, while higher up the river he pointed out to me the promontory of Orgon, and the neighbourhood where the Vebrumaros inscription was found. With some trouble we descended into the hollow which I have mentioned, at the mouth of which M. Jouve thought early traders exposed their wares for sale to the inhabitants of the hill fort. Finally, we came to a halt on a sloping rock near a deep pool which had probably been at one time part of the channel of the Durance: the river now flows on the other side of its bed some distance away. On the sloping part of the rock M. Jouve called my attention to a number of footholds cut in it. I tried some of them and found them quite safe. Evidently it had been a landing-place when the volume of the river flowed on the Saint-Jacques side. A little below the places cut for the foot, where the rock became more nearly horizontal, was the spot where M. Jouve found the inscription. This was when a great overflow of the Durance had swept away all the soil which had accumulated over the footholds and the inscription.

The inscription has been read by M. Maruéjol and his friends as follows (*Celtic Inscriptions*, p. 23):—

ΟΥΕΛΡΟΥ
ΦΗΚΙΚΟC

I did not feel sure as to the first Υ: at any rate, there is room for it. My suggestion (after seeing the cast at the Musée Calvet) that one should read Δ instead of Λ is not corroborated in the present condition of the inscription. Lastly, at the end of the second line I failed to trace the letters ΟC, and to some extent I had to take the Φ on trust. For unfortunately we arrived on the spot rather too late in the day: the rays of the sun had already left the part of the rock for which we wanted a good light.[1]

The first difficulty we have to face is the uncertainty whether we are to read Δ or Λ in the first line. Now if we take the latter

[1] On a visit paid by M. Jouve and M. Maruéjol to the inscription soon after its discovery there was no lack of strong sunlight, as is amply proved by a photograph taken on the occasion. I have to thank the former gentleman for a copy (Photo. 6), which shows not the inscription but the area cleared of earth by the flood of the Durance; there was too strong a glare for the inscription to be reproduced, but it shows M. Maruéjol with his finger on the first letter.

there is little hope of discovering a name that would fit, whereas if we take the former we seem to arrive at a nominative Ουεδρου for an earlier Ουεδρους or *Ǫedru-s* of the same origin perhaps as Ptolemy's Ουεδρα or *Ǫedra*, a name which survives in English as *Wear*, borne by a river in the North of England; not to mention that Wearmouth is supposed to be the *Caer Weir* of the Book of Taliessin: see Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, II. 200, 201, and Rhys's *Celtic Britain*[iii], p. 119. In Welsh the *d* before *r* might become *i* as in *cadeir* from *cat[h]edra*, 'a chair' (*Celtic Folklore*, p. 282). On these lines the Welsh equivalent of *Ǫedrus* would be *Gweir* (in lenition *Weir*), modern *Gwair* (*Wair*), as in *Llwyn Gwair*, 'Gwair's Grove,' near Nevern in Cardiganshire, and in *Ynys Weir*, understood to be the Welsh name of Lundy Island in the Bristol Channel. Gwair was a mythic hero figuring in Welsh poetry: see my *Celtic Folklore*, p. 678, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 248, the Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 306. Holder under *-vedro-n* would connect with Ptolemy's *Vir-vedrum* in North Britain the O. Slavonic *vedrŭ*, 'clear, bright, cheerful.'

The other vocable Φηκικος begins with the sound of *φ* or *f*, which was always rare in early Celtic, as it is derived from the combination *sp'h* or *sp*. Both in Goidelic and Brythonic it seems to have been reduced into *f*, which Brythonic has retained (written *ff*), while Goidelic has further changed initial *f* into *s*, as for instance in the Latin loanwords *srian*, 'a bridle,' Welsh *ffrwyn*, the former probably from *frēnum* and the latter from the plural *frēna*. So with *súist*, 'a flail,' Welsh *ffust*, both from Latin *fustis*.[1] Now *φηκικος* appears to be an adjective in *-κο-ς* serving as an epithet to the name in the first line. It should mean 'resembling, having to do with, or related in some way to, what was indicated by the previous part of the word, *φηκι-*'. According to the phonological suggestions already made, *φηκι-* should be treated as standing for an earlier *σφηκι-*, which may, perhaps, be compared with such words as Latin *spīca*, *spīcus*, 'an ear of corn,' *spīculum*, 'a sharp point, a javelin, an arrow.' In that case *φηκικος* might mean 'in the habit of using a javelin'.

The uncertainty as to the etymology of *φηκικος* is to be regretted. The word is nevertheless of considerable importance as showing that in the Celtic spoken on the banks of the Durance the rare combination *sp'r* or *spr* had been reduced to *φρ* or *fr*. We have another instance in the North of Gaul, that is in a Celtic language which was doubtless Gaulish. I allude to Ptolemy's Φρουδιος, which has been

[1] For some more instances see the *Cymmrodor*, vol. XXI, pp. 54, 55, where Irish *sust* should be corrected into *súist*. The consonantal changes here in question are treated otherwise in Thurneysen's *Handbuch*, pp. 80, 137, 521.

mostly supposed to be the Somme; but C. Müller in his edition of Ptolemy (I. 219) argues for a smaller river called the Bresle, which reaches the sea not far from the little town of Eu in the Department of the Seine-Inférieure. He prints the name with a δ, but Holder, s. v. *Frudis*, cites Glück as correcting it into Φρουτιος, which was probably the genuine form. It is given in the genitive case, so that in the nominative it would have been Φρουτις or *Frŭtis*, practically the same word as old Welsh *frut*, 'a stream,' whence in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, Cam*frut*, 'crooked stream,' Guen*frut*, 'White Stream,' and similar compound names still common in Wales, the modern spelling being *ffrwd*, Cam*ffrwd*, Gwen*ffrwd*, &c.: so in Breton *frut*, *frot*, in modern spelling *froud*. The kindred Irish word is *sruth*, genitive *srotho*, *srotha*, a masculine of the *u* declension, while the Welsh *ffrwd* is a feminine, which probably belonged to the *i* declension like Φρουτις. Still it is, etymologically speaking, impossible to sever *sruth* and *ffrwd*.[1]

At first I regarded the rock inscription as not Celtic, but I hope that I have now made it probable that the previous guess was wrong. Speaking more precisely I should say that the language of it may be taken to have been the same as that of the five Cavaillon tombstones; and this, with its test particle -κουι, I regard as the same as that of the votive inscriptions of the district distinguished by the βρατουδε formula: see my *Celtic Inscriptions*, pp. 78–81. The language of the whole group, as thus expanded, is probably to be regarded as the kind of Celtic in which the Coligny Calendar was drawn up. For want of

[1] I mention this as it is usual to refer these words to a root *sreu*, whence Greek ῥέω, 'I flow,' ῥυτός, 'flowing,' Sanskrit *sruta*, 'flowing,' Lithuanian *srovė*, 'a river current,' Old Bulgarian *struja*, '*flumen*.' Similarly the kindred words in the Teutonic languages mostly begin with *str* as in English *stream*, German *strom*. It is seen that there was some freedom of choice in this instance as between *sr* and *str*; but neither will directly fit *ffrwd*. For to make *sreu*, *srut-*, the immediate antecedent to the Celtic words as is usually done, would require one to suppose the *s* to have become *f* in Welsh, a change which nobody, as far as I know, has ever detected in that language. What *ffrwd* postulates is an initial combination *sp'r* or *spr*: that is *frutis*, *ffrwd* and *sruth*, starting from *sp'rut-*, which was reduced to *frut-*. This last was retained in Brythonic, while in Goidelic it underwent the later change which made the *f* into *s*. We seem to have a parallel in the German *sprudel*, 'a bubbling well, a hot spring,' *sprudeln*, 'to bubble, to gush, to flow.' Whether we are dealing here with a single root *sreu*, liable to be euphonized into *streu* and *spreu*, or with several parallel roots, is of no special importance for our argument, which warrants our tracing the river name *Efraw* in Anglesey, and Asser's *Frauu*, the Welsh name of the Dorset river *Froom*, to the same origin as the English word *stream*, German *strom*, Lettish *straume*. See Fick[iv], III. 502, and Stevenson's *Asser's Life of K. Alfred*, pp. 37, 248, 249.

a name I have sometimes called it Celtican, but I have no objection to its being called Ligurian, provided the term be used to mean the earliest Celtic speech in use in ancient Gaul.

*** Before leaving the Department of Vaucluse I wish to discuss No. xi in my *Celtic Inscriptions*. It comes from the neighbourhood of Apt, and is in the Calvet Museum. It has always been a great puzzle to me; but I pored over it in August, 1910, with the result that I have, I think, made some progress, involving my giving up some of my previous guesses. Thus my reading of the last word as VALE will not stand: the Editor of the *Corpus* was perfectly right in reading the broken letter as Δ and not Λ. In this inscription the sigma is written C, a form possibly derived from Σ rather than from the minuscule Greek c. Moreover, the first letter I was now able to make out in the first line was a rather small C, and after it I seemed to read OYI. Then comes what I ventured to consider a form of Latin R, but I think now that it was meant for a Greek K, and in this I am confirmed by its similarity to the kappa in ΒΛΑΝΔΟΟΥΙΚΟΥΝΙΑΙ on the Gargas palimpsest stone in the court outside. The whole name will then read KAIPNITOYC, *Clirnitus*. In that case we have the K again in the second line, namely, following NA, so that a part at least of that line would read NAKNOC, but I am puzzled what to read before the NA: the symmetry of the inscription seems to require some lettering there. I thought once that I could faintly trace the leading features of ΛΑΝΑΚΝΟC or perhaps of MANAKNOC with AN ligatured. What I have now made out would approximately read thus:—

. . . . . COYI · KAIPNITOYC
[ΛΑ]NAKNOC
IAΔE

Treated thus, the inscription ceases to be an exceptional mixture of Greek and Latin letters, as no distinctive Latin letters appear in this version. The nominative seems to have been an obscure Κλιρνιτους, with an epithet or let us say a patronymic in *-α-κνος* parallel to *-ι-κνος* and *-ου-κνος* as in Ανουωτικνος (pp. 37–9 below) and Cιλουκνος already given. If we were to read Ονν*α* into the second line we should have Ονν*α*κνος, possibly meaning 'son of a mother Ονν*α*'; but though metronymic names might pass muster in ancient Ireland, I cannot tell whether this would apply to Gaul. In any case we need not consider that question here, as Celtic, like Latin and Greek, is found to have had proper names in *ā* which were not confined to women. See Stokes's *Celtic Declension*, pp. 17, 92, and compare Thurneysen's *Handbuch*, p. 176. Among the Irish instances suggested

THE CAVAILLON INSCRIPTIONS

PHOTO. 1

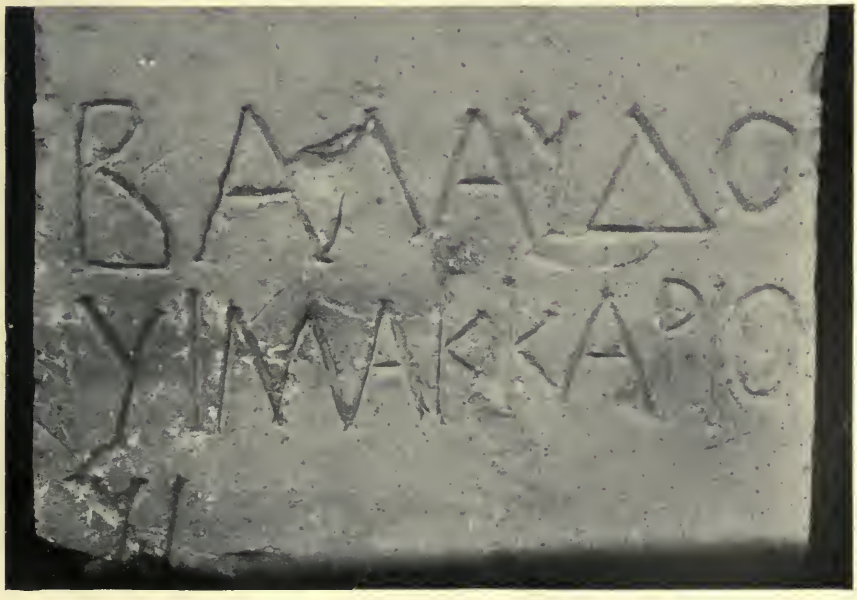

PHOTO. 2

THE CAVAILLON INSCRIPTIONS

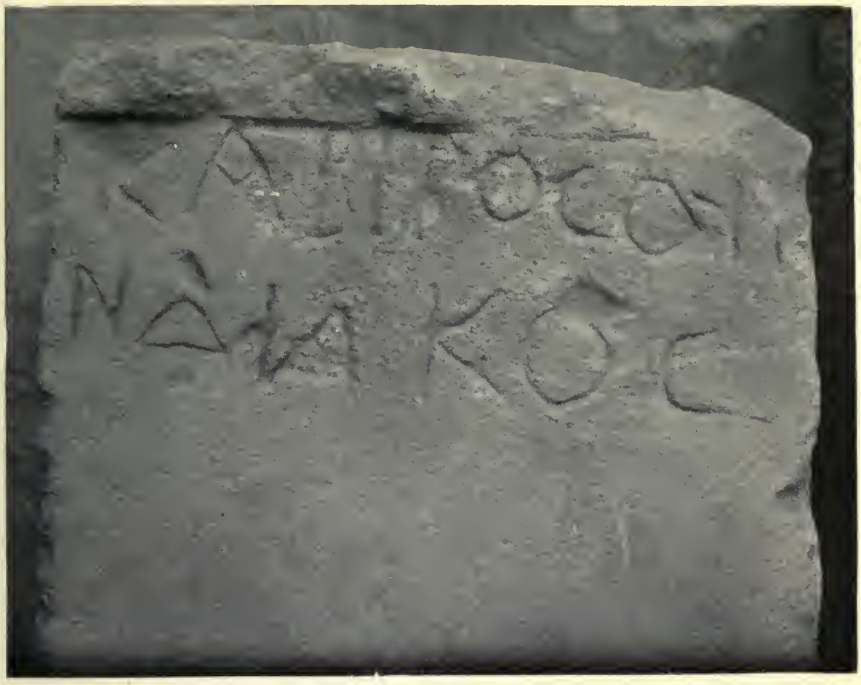

PHOTO. 3

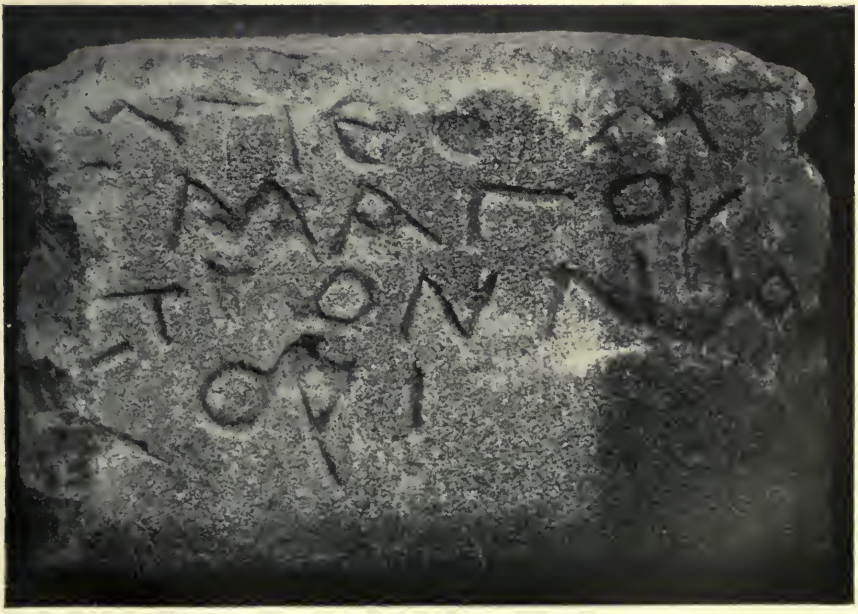

PHOTO. 4

PHOTO. 5

PHOTO. 6

by Stokes occurs a genitive *Láne*, *Láine*. The nominative should accordingly be *Lán* (for an early *Lānā*), whence the name of an old tribe, Macu Láne, in the south of Ireland (Stokes's *Féilire*, Dec. 6, and p. clxxx). By accident that name would seem to fit here, where Λανακνος would mean 'son of Lānā'. It will serve well enough to indicate how the second line should probably be treated, though I need hardly say that I am not convinced that I have hit on the right reading or that our late colleague was right in regarding Lán as a man and not a woman.

As regards ΙΑΔΕ I can say nothing, but only note the fact that its final syllable recalls βρατουδε. Possibly, therefore, it may have meant thankfully (*merito*), willingly (*libens*), or else dutifully (*pie*). There then remains -σουι, which looks like the ending of a name in the dative case, such as Ειvουι and Γρασελουι. The nominative corresponding should end in -σους, that is . . . σ-ους, better . . . σ-ος. As the inscription does not suggest βρατουδε or καντεν, I am inclined to regard it as an epitaph, a view which is perhaps favoured by the fact that the stone is part of a rude pillar. In that case I should construe it thus:—'To . . . . sos: Clirnitus . . . . nacnos dutifully (put it up).'

II

The Archæological Museum at Nîmes contains various inscriptions which I saw in 1909 and 1910, though I have not described them. Some of them reached the Museum subsequently to the writing, in 1905, and to the publishing, in 1906, of my paper on the *Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy*; and some which were there even then, I must have overlooked. There are also errors in my account of some of those which I noticed in that paper. Such are my reasons, good and bad, for reverting here to inscriptions at Nîmes.

1. The first to be mentioned is on a rude block of reddish stone found in the ancient necropolis discovered in the Saint-Baudile quarter of Nîmes: it is described by M. Mazauric in his account of the acquisitions by the Museum in the years 1906 and 1907. See his *Musées archéologiques de Nîmes: Recherches et Acquisitions* (Chastanier, Nîmes, 1908), p. 16. The stone is 0^m 75 high by 0^m 27 wide: the lower part is rough and untrimmed, while the upper part was rounded except where on both sides a level area was provided for the writing. As you face it the side near your left hand may be called No. 1,

and that opposite your right hand No. 2. They read thus[1] respectively:—

1.	2.
ΑΔΓΕ	ΑΔΓΕΝ
ΝΟΥΙΔ	ΟΟΥΔ
ΕΔΕΒΡ	

The third line of No. 1, which is situated at the bottom of the levelled space, is very uncertain, especially the Ε in both instances. On face No. 2 the levelled space does not extend so far down, so it has only two lines of writing. The inscriber here failed to make the letter Ε to scale: he began it too small, so it stands almost above the line. Otherwise the letters of this line are by no means badly shaped. The reading of the second line is uncertain except that of the first Ο and that of a big Δ ending the line and beginning ΔΕΔΕ. I looked for an Ι before the Δ, but I could not trace it or find room for it.

No. 1 seems to divide itself thus: Αδγενουι δεδε βρ . . . . ., meaning possibly: 'Adgenui gave according to order' to such and such a divinity the kind of offering termed καντεν or καντενα, 'first-fruits,' in other inscriptions of that part of Gaul. I shall have something to say presently concerning βρατουδε, otherwise this is the construction to be expected after the analogy of the other inscriptions of the kind collected on pp. 78, 79 of my previous paper; but these two inscriptions were never finished. Moreover Αδγενουι was a form of the dative like Ειναυι, Γρασελουι, and . . . σουι (pp. 5, 10, 17 above).

I look at all the writing on this stone as the outcome of a mason's practising his hand or merely amusing himself by ignorantly imitating inscriptions which he had seen. In No. 2 he equated with his Αδγενουι another form, Αδγενοου, which we know to have been a dative of the *u* declension. It could not be nominative: witness Ταρανοου in the Vebrumaros inscription (*Celtic Inscr.*, vii). It is highly improbable that he had ever seen either Αδγενουι or Αδγενοου as anything but a dative: at any rate the forms given by Holder are *Adgennus* and *Adgennius*, *Adgennia*, all from Nîmes, and Αδγεννο-ριξ from L'Isle-sur-Sorgue in the Department of Vaucluse (*Celt. Inscr.*, x); not to mention *Adgennonius* from the neighbourhood of Novara in N. Italy. Now *Adgennus* occurring in a Latin inscription may represent a Celtic

[1] The reading is very difficult, and M. Mazauric differs from me in detecting an Ν in No. 1 at the end of line 1 (ΑΔΓΕΝ), and in No. 2 another Ν beginning line 2 (ΝΟΟΥΔ). He may be right in both, and also in not suggesting a third line at all.

Adgenno-s or *Adgennu-s*, and it is right to say that considerable latitude in the matter of declension appears to have been allowed in the case of Celtic proper names. Witness the instances collected in the *Corpus*, XIII, part iii, p. 119, where we find cited such nominatives as *Bucco*, *Buccus*, *Buccio* and *Buccius*, *Cot[t]o*, *Cot[t]us*, *Cot[t]io*, and others.

The etymological spelling requires *nn*, and the name *Ad-gennu-s* or *Ad-genno-s* seems to have meant 'gainer, winner, one who makes acquisitions': compare *Con-genno-*, p. 29 below.

2. From Montmirat (Gard) comes a fragment of a Gallo-Roman altar, presented to the Museum in 1907. M. Mazuric, loc. cit., pp. 71–3, gives a careful description of the locality and the antiquities found there. The fragment in question bears the letters BPATOYT . . . . The last letter is incomplete owing to a breakage: I tried to read BPATOYΔ in the hope that it represented an original βρατουδε, but it is impossible, and the T seems certain. Besides, it is hard to see how that vocable could have begun the inscription. The probable explanation is that it is part of a proper name BPATOY-T . . . . where the second element began with the consonant *t*, say of *-toutios*; but it is right to state that the only compound of *Bratu* which Holder has found is the place-name *Bratuspantium*.

3. In the same year, 1907, M. Mazauric, while on a walk to the part of Nîmes called Saint-Césaire, detected an inscribed stone in a ditch near the Café de Font Jaïsse. It is now in the Museum, where it attracted my attention. It is a very rough stone, and, according to him (*Recherches et Acquisitions*, p. 73), it measures 0^{m} 72 as its greatest length by 0^{m} 32 high by 0^{m} 45 thick. The face bearing the inscription had not been very carefully levelled, and the letters are tall and irregular, reading as below :—

PITOY

M. Maruéjol, who has carefully studied it, thinks that *Ritu* is the dative of *Ritum*, the Celtic *riton* meaning a ford, and that it was the name of a local divinity, in fact that of the spring called Jaïsse, and he adduces among others that of *Ritona* from Montaren near Uzès in the Department of Gard. I must confess to some difficulty in applying a word meaning a ford to a well or spring, and I am more inclined to treat it as a man's name, say that of the mason who placed the stone in its position. In that case I should regard Ριτου as a nominative for Ριτους of the *u* declension, and equate it with *Ritus* on pottery bearing the stamp RITVS F(*ecit*) found in various towns in the Valley of the Rhine (*C. I. L.*, XIII. iii. 10010. 1643). Holder cites also RIITVS. F. F. from Le Châtelet, near Charleroi, in

Belgium. The name may have meant 'Runner', being possibly derived from the root *ret*, 'to run,' as in Irish *rithim*, 'I run,' Welsh *rhed-eg*, for early *retica*, 'the act of running.' It is doubtless a simplification of compounds like *Ritu-maros* and *Ritu-galos*: see Holder, s. vv. *Ritumara* and *Ritukalos*.

4. Celtic also, in all probability, is the inscription in this Museum from Uzès (Gard), reading as follows:—

CENIKIOC ⁘ ABPΩ · · · ·

The stone appears to have been found at a well, and it is broken off close to the omega; so close in fact that the right side of that letter is imperfect. How much exactly there was of this line it is impossible to say; not to mention that the stone may have been deeper, providing room for a line or two more beneath the one partly remaining. The names *Senicius* or *Senecius*, and *Senicia* or *Senecia*, appear according to Holder to have been common in Carinthia, Carniola, and North Italy, not to mention the related form *Senecio* in N. Italy, Nîmes, Vienne, and Mainz. They are derived from a stem *senec*, which we also have in the Latin *senex* (= *senec-s*) and *senec-tus*. The still simpler form in Celtic is represented in Irish by *sen-*, 'old,' Welsh *hen-* and *hên* of the same meaning, Greek ἔνος, 'old.' The epithet may have been ABPΩNIOC, ABPΩNIKNOC, or the like. The *β* in *Abr-* may be either original or stand for an earlier *μ*, as in COBREXT- (in the Coligny Calendar) for *comrecht*, Welsh *cyfreith*, *cyfraith*, 'law.' That is probably the case here, as our *αβρω-* seems to be related to the Irish adjective *amhra*, which Dinneen explains as 'good, great, noble, prosperous, lucky', while in Stokes's *Oengus* both *amrae* and *ad-amrae* are rendered 'wondrous'. Compare the following gloss cited from the Würzburg Codex 15[d] in the *Grammatica Celtica*[ii], p. 916, *imforlinged mór n-amri de* ('factum inde multum miraculi'). *Amrae*, *Amra*, genitive *amri*, belong to an adjective *amr-io-*, *amr-iā*, and we have the stem as *amar-*, *amir-*, in the name *Amar-gen*, *Amirgen-us* (*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, II. 262, 316), later spelling, *Amhairghen*, 'Wonder-child,' in Welsh *Abr-gen*, which occurs in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, where we have also *Emrdil* (for earlier *Amr-dil*), *Ebrdil* (fem.), later *Efrdil*, *Euyrdil*, *Erđil* (?), pp. 76, 78–80, 192, 348, 358, 359, 364.

5. The next inscription I wish to mention is that which I read at first Ματιακο . . Κοννουβρ . . . . I think I can now do it greater justice than I did in 1905, and in any case I must correct my statement (*Celt. Inscr.*, p. 38) that it was found at Nîmes; by what error I arrived at that conclusion I cannot now discover. In any case there is no

doubt that it is the identical stone given in *C. I. L.*, XII, p. 832, as reading . . . ΑΑΠΑΟ . . . | . . . ΚΟΛΛΟΥΡΓ . . . . The editor gives a reference to Allmer's *Revue Épigraphique*, II. 82, 83, whence he copied this reading. Allmer's account of the stone is that it was found near Collorgues, in the neighbourhood of Uzès, in clearing and digging some land about the year 1869, and that it was immediately broken into fragments, of which the one with the above lettering was saved by a well-known antiquary, M. Lombard-Dumas, who deposited it at a place of his at Garrigues. When and how it found its way into the museum at Nîmes I do not know, but it was subsequently to Allmer's writing about it. He describes it as measuring in height 0^m 16 and in length at the bottom 0^m 30 and at the top 0^m 25; but it is best to produce his description in his own words:— 'Fragment détaché d'une pierre de mollasse lacustre, présentant primitivement la moitié supérieure d'un sphéroïde à sommet tronqué et creusé en la forme d'une profonde cuvette circulaire.' The lettering was on the circumference of the dish at the top, but the surface is so worn away that the upper ends of the letters of the first line are gone. I read the first letter as Λ (not A, which Allmer preferred), but it may be the latter half of an M, and what he gives as Π I took to be TI or ΓI. The A following is fairly clear, but its end curved outwards, which helped to suggest a C. In fact, on the cast accompanying the original, somebody has indicated in paint or pencil a tall, neat, open C by using the curve of the lower part of the A and producing it above on a surface which is gone in the original. It is needless to say that Allmer's evidence completely disposes of it, for the next trace of writing after the A he took to be a small O. There he was mistaken; for in the first place one does not expect the small O to be placed on the level of the bottom of the other letters, but nearer the top, where in this instance the original surface is broken off; and in the next place I find, on careful examination, that it cannot be an O at all. It can only be the lower half of a B or rather less than the half, as the breakage leaves the top of the lower half open. On the other hand, it has the interior angle at the foot of the B intact. Next, the AB suggests an O to complete the dative plural of some designation of the Mother Goddesses, such as *Andounn*ABO or *Namausik*ABO.

In the second line I read NN for ΓΓ, and not ΛΛ, and the last letter but one is B not P, while the last letter is P not Γ; the top is formed into a little triangle often characteristic of that letter. The lower part of the perpendicular limb of the letter is somewhat indistinct, but Allmer would seem to have detected it, since he read

the whole as Γ. The possible readings, with conjectural extensions, may be represented as follows:—

Ματρεβο $\frac{\Lambda}{M}A\frac{T}{\Gamma}IABo$

KONNOY BPατουδε

Κοννου is probably a nominative of the *u* declension for earlier Κοννους, or Κουννους, and we seem to have a derivative in the *Cunu-* of CVNVANOS, the name of a prince of the Arverni, cited by Holder from coins of that ancient people; not to mention a related form CONNO, which he produces from coins of the Lemovices, and treats as of the *o* declension. In that case we may have it perpetuated in the Irish *Conn*, genitive *Cuinn*, 'Quin'; but as he gives *Conno* no final *s* in any of his instances, the name may have been of the consonantal declension making a genitive *Connonos*, not *Conni*.

Having detected a dative and a nominative, we may look at the inscription as a whole; and the first point to be noticed is that it probably never had a verb: the dative sufficed to convey the sense that Connus had given to the Mother Goddesses of the locality something it was not necessary to name, to wit, the hollowed stone on which the dedication was written. This stone dish, which the vandals who found it forthwith broke into pieces, was a vessel required possibly in the cult of the Mother Goddesses. What their exact name was it has been found impossible to say: the dative may have been *Latiabo* or *Lagiabo*, *Matiabo* or *Magiabo*, not to mention *Lapabo* or *Mapabo*. Of these guesses I should prefer *Matiabo*, from the adjective *matis*, 'good.'[1] The whole would then mean 'To the Good Mothers Connus (gives this) at their bidding'. But Ματρεβο, though the word lends a certain symmetry to the inscription, does not seem essential to the sense here suggested; for instead of calling them Good Mothers it may have sufficed to call them the 'Good' ones in the feminine, as if in Greek the feminine ἀγαθαῖς had been applied to them.

[1] Dr. Stokes in his Fick volume gives the old Celtic word for 'good' the two forms *mati-s* and *mato-s* (p. 199), and to the words connected with *mati-s* would belong our adjective in *-ιαβο*, while others are derived from *mato-s*. The former is exemplified in the Irish word *maith*, 'good,' in Manx *mie*, while the Scotch Gaelic is *math*, not to be traced to *mati-s*. On the other hand the Coligny Calendar has only *matu-s*, which seems to be of the *u* declension. All this would seem to imply no less than three declensions in the case of the one adjective, but I take it that *mato-s* is not original, but produced by the encroachment of the *o* declension on the more restricted *u* declension, as when Latin *magistratus* was given a genitive *magistrati*. The Welsh word was *mat*, now *mad*, with regard to which we only know for certain that it cannot be traced to *mati-s*, but to *mato-s* or *matu-s*.

Nothing has been said as to the probable use made of the deep stone dish; but if we could establish a parallel between the Mother Goddesses and the Fairy Godmothers of the Good People, the Fairy Tales of Wales might shed some light on the question. For one of the common requirements of the Welsh Fairies when they entered people's houses at night, when the inmates were asleep, was to have vessels provided for them full of clean water for washing and dressing their infants. If we may apply this to the case of the Good Mothers, the stone dish was a sort of font in nightly use for the washing of the babies, which an ancient altar at Cirencester associates with them, as I learn from our colleague Professor Haverfield. I may add that in Glamorgan, and other counties of South Wales, Fairy changelings are called *Bendith y Mamau*, 'the Mothers' Blessing.' In support of the view that the Mother Goddesses became the *Bonnes Dames*, the *Dames Blanches*, and similar Fairies of Medieval France, I may cite the authority of the late M. Florian Vallentin, in a paper contributed to the fourth volume of the *Revue Celtique*, pp. 27–36. Popular belief represented them as inhabiting rocks, grottoes, fountains, and the ruins of ancient castles, and engaging in the protection of the weak against the oppression of the strong, and, by their apparitions, frightening nocturnal spoilers and murderers from their evil purposes, while some of them crowned with a mysterious aureole the beginnings of great families and foretold their destinies. They sometimes take the poetic form of *Mélusine*, of the *Dame Blanche* of the Avenels, of the *Banshee* of the Fitz-Geralds, and the like (p. 29). To come back to the idea of ablutions, M. Vallentin states that the memory of the Mothers is perpetuated in a legend attached to a curious monument of nature situated a very short distance to the north of the Church of Saint-Romain-en-Gal, near Vienne. It is called *Puits des Fées* or *Fort des Fées*, and he quotes from a previous writer[1] the following description of it: 'Sur un petit rocher qui regarde le Rhône auprès de Saint-Romain sont trois creux ronds que la nature seule a formés, quoiqu'il semble d'abord que l'art y ait travaillé après elle. On dit qu'ils étaient autrefois fréquentés par les fées; qu'ils étaient remplis d'eau quand il leur plaisait et qu'elles y venaient prendre souvent le plaisir du bain; car on feint que toutes ces fées n'avaient pas de plus charmante volupté que celle-là' (p. 33).

6. The Collias inscription in the Nîmes Museum was guessed in my *Celtic Inscriptions*, pp. 39–41, to read Εκιννος Ριονμανιος Ανδοουν-

[1] Chorier, *Recherches sur les antiquités de la ville de Vienne*, p. 183.

ναβο δεδε βρατουδε καντεν and to mean 'Ecinnos son of Riumanos gave firstfruits to the Andounnas by their decree'; but I fear that I must give up my reading of the first name. I thought I had found a ligature standing for IN or NI which as I was led to believe occurred in an inscription at Dijon (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 5465), to wit, in a name which has been read DASILLINSO*IE* . *VX*, the Editor remarking that he did not know whether the nondescript character was N or NI or IXI or something else. In August, 1909, I had the curiosity to go to the Dijon Museum and look at the stone. I found the character in question to be more like MA ligatured, though it was not exactly that either: in any case it was not what I wanted. The inscription has been otherwise badly read: I made it DABILEI*MA*SO. The A and B are ligatured, and the next letter is either I or L, and there may have been VX at the end. The first name (written with B for V) is to be doubtless correlated as *Davile*, with the *Davilos* cited by Holder from a potter's stamp DAVILI M(*anu*) found at Vienne (*C.I.L.* XII. 5686. 301).

To return to the Collias inscription, I seize on this opportunity of offering a solution of the difficulty experienced in the interpretation of βρατουδε as a Celtic word ending with the preposition *de*, 'from,' made into a postposition. The late Celtic scholar, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, was, I fancy, influenced chiefly by this when he undertook to argue that the group of inscriptions containing the *bratude* formula were not Celtic. I tried to deal with his arguments in my paper on the *Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy*, pp. 19, 79–81, and suggested that possibly *bratude* had nothing at all to do with *de*, 'from,' whether Celtic or Latin, but that it had the meaning of *ex imperio*, *ex iussu*, by virtue of its being in the oblique case of a derivative *bratud* formed from *bratu*. This analysis has failed to lead me to any result, but since then a study of the formation of certain adverbial phrases in Irish has supplied me with a clue. Turning to the *Adverbia Hibernica* in the *Grammatica Celtica*[ii], pp. 608, 609, I find that the first set of instances consists of the definite article prefixed to the neuter of an adjective, and the case in which the words are is called the dative: Zeuss says dative or ablative, but even that is too narrow, as the case meant covers also the senses of the locative and the instrumental. It would be somewhat less misleading to call it a dative-ablative case; but for the sake of brevity Irish grammarians are in the habit of calling it simply dative.

The first instance which Zeuss gives is *in biucc*, 'paulo, paulatim,' from *becc*, 'little, small.' The exact equivalent in Welsh is *yn fach*, the adverbial rendering of *bach*, 'little, small.' The next kind of

adverbial phrase in what is probably the same dative case is made in Irish to end in *-id* (sometimes written *-ith*). From among the instances given under this head the following may be chosen :—*Ind óindid*, glossing 'semel', or (spelt *ind óendaid*) glossing 'singulatim', where *ind* is the definite article in the dative, and *óinde* or *óenda* is an adjective derived from *óin*, *óen*, 'one,' Welsh *un*, Latin *ūnu-s*, for an older *oino-s*, 'one'; and *ind aicnetid*, gl. 'naturaliter', from *aicneta*, 'naturalis,' derived from *aicned*, 'natura.' We may also take participles ending in *-the* or *-tha*, such as that in *ní in tuasailcthid*, gl. 'non absolute' (*tuaslaicim*, 'I let loose or make loose'). To these and the like Thurneysen (*Handbuch*, p. 229) adds some instances of nouns, such as *in díglaid* (glossing 'ulciscenter'), from *digal*, O.Welsh *digal*, now *dïal*, 'vengeance'; and *ind áirmith* (gl. 'summatim', otherwise explained by the word 'breviter'). The noun here is *árem*, *áram*,[1] 'number,' for an early *ad-rīmā*. It is a feminine of the *ā* declension, nominative *árem* or *áram*, genitive *áirme*, dative *árim*, accusative *árim-n*. My notion is that the final *d* represents a declensional element *-de* or *-di* appended to the dative in the instances in question. However, we cannot get that to fit with the Irish declension as we have it: one has to go back to the early Celtic form of that declension. It will be convenient here to follow Stokes in his *Celtic Declension*, p. 102, where he gives the declension of *rēda*, 'a chariot,' in what he has called Proto-Celtic. On that I proceed to project such cases as we want of the Irish word *áram*, *áireamh*, as follows :—

Stokes's Proto-Celtic.	Early Goidelic.	Historical Irish.
Nom. rēda	ad-rīmā	áram, árem, áireamh.
Gen. rēdēs	ad-rīmēs	áirme, áirmhe.
Dat. rēdē (rēdī ?)	ad-rīmē (ad-rīmī ?)	árim, árimh, áireamh.

Let us now append to the early dative *ad-rīmī* or *ad-rīmē* the syllable *de*; then *adrīmē-de*, subject to the rules as to Irish desinences, yields us *árimid*, *áirmid*, which is practically what we have in the adverbial expression *ind airmith*, 'summatim, breviter.' It may be asked why I select *-de*, but it would take too long to discuss vowel harmony in

[1] The Welsh equivalent both in meaning and derivation is *eirif*, as in *an-eirif*, 'numberless.' In *eirif* the first *i* stands for an earlier *d*, as in *cadeir*, *cadair*, 'a chair,' adapted from *cathedra* : see p. 14 above. The simpler words Irish *rím* and Welsh *rhif*, for older *rím*, also mean 'number', but they differ in gender, the Irish *rím* being feminine, while the Welsh *rhif* is masculine like the Teutonic cognates, such as the A.-Saxon *rīm* and O. H. German *rīm*. It looks as if Irish *rím*, originally masculine, had been made feminine under the influence of *árem*. On the other hand *árem* in its modern form of *áireamh* is given as masculine by Dinneen ; the gender of Welsh *eirif* has not been ascertained.

Irish: let it suffice to say that a broad vowel would not fit, so we are left to choose between *e* and *i*, and I have taken the former, that is I have supposed the element added to the dative to have been *-de*.[1]

When similar treatment is applied to βρατουδε we have perhaps to regard βρατου, *bratu*, as a dative, and not as the stem of a word of the *u* declension. We have such a dative in an inscription containing *Magalu*, 'to or for Magalos,' on a vase found in the neighbourhood of Bourges, and now preserved in the National Museum in the Château de Saint-Germain (*Celtic Inscriptions*, xxxii). But the dative in *u* belongs mostly to words of the *o* declension; so here the nominative implied would probably be *brato-s*, not *bratu-s*; but what can *brato-s* have been? Comparative philology supplies an answer. The Latin words *grātes*, *grātia*, *grātus* are found to have had as their initial a consonant which in Celtic would have been *gu̯* liable to be simplified into *b*. Thus Latin *grātu-s* would have corresponding to it in Celtic *brāto-s*: see Walde's Dictionary, s.v. *grātēs*, and compare Thurneysen, p. 190.

Now comes the question of the meaning of *bratu-de*. Stokes in his *Celtic Declension*, p. 63, quoted from De Wal's *De Moedergodinnen* the following inscription: *Matronis Afliabus M. Marius Marcellus pro se et suis ex imperio ipsarum*. He drew from this and similar cases the conclusion that *ex imperio* would be the equivalent of βρατουδε. But *ex imperio* or *ex iussu* is by no means the most usual phrase in Latin *ex-votos*; and it is hard to believe that in none of the Celtic ones in question was the faithful donor allowed to let his co-religionists understand that he was acting of his own free will in the matter of offerings to the divinities whom he worshipped. Thus one may say that the *ex imperio* interpretation is not to be applied too frequently, even if one had no other to offer. That, however, is not the case, for if we may treat *brāto-s* as the etymological equivalent of Latin *grātus*, we may assume that the meanings were approximately the same. In that case βρατουδε might be rendered approximately by the Latin adverb *grāte*, 'with pleasure, agreeably, willingly, thankfully, gratefully.' In other words it was an expression of thanks, with much the same

[1] After writing this I happened to have my attention drawn to the *Gram. Celtica*, p. 231, where one reads: 'Abl. adj. propriae formae (cf. gallicum βρατουδε): indoracdid (gl. dorice),' &c. But here no hint of a suspicion occurs that the declensional element which helped to constitute the *propria forma* was etymologically one and the same in both. At the last moment I notice that Holder in his third volume, col. 926, quotes R. v. Planta as equating βρατου- with Latin *merito*. This also, should it prove tenable, would suit my view as to the -δε.

force as the Latin formula 'votum solvit libens merito', except that βρατουδε involved no express reference to a vow.

*** Before leaving Nîmes I wish to mention one or two Latin inscriptions of considerable Celtic interest. The first of them comes from an *oppidum* on the mountain of La Baume, near Belvezet (Gard): see M. Mazauric's report for 1908, p. 41, and also for 1906, p. 34. He gives it as reading:—

TERTIVS. TIN
CORIGIS F. SE
GOMANNAE
V. S. L. M.

The discovery of the name Tincorix interests me as helping us to the analysis of that of Tincommius, son of Commius; he is well known by his British coins, and his name is doubtless a shortening, for euphony's sake, of *Tinco-commius*. The goddess Segomanna's name is to be added to Holder's Σεγομανικος, occurring in a Nîmes inscription which he has pronounced suspect.

*** An inscription found at Nîmes in 1906 is given by M. Mazauric, p. 27, as reading:—

D · M
MESSINAE MESSINI
FILIAE
TASGIA · TITVLLA
POSVIT

Here Tasgia is to be placed by the side of Holder's masculine *Tasgius*. The spelling with *g* possibly indicates that the *s* was pronounced soft, that it was in fact *z*, and Holder seems right in deriving *tasgo-* from an earlier *tazgo-*, to which is related the Irish *Taidgg*, *Tadc*, later *Tadhg*, one of the commonest personal names in Ireland, at any rate until it began to have *Thaddaeus*, *Timothy*, and other New Testament names substituted for it.

7. While staying at Nîmes in August, 1910, we made an excursion to Montpellier, at the invitation of our friend Professor Babut, in order among other things to see the inscribed stone from Substantion. That place is about three kilometres to the east of Montpellier on the other side of the river Lez. My friend reminded me that it is a station mentioned in the *Itinerary* from Bordeaux to Jerusalem. The stone was discovered in 1840, and the portion of it found inscribed consists of two edges of a square table forming part of the top of a pillar, which he describes as 'un chapiteau dorique'. He adds that 'Les caractères sont gravés sur le tailloir comme l'inscription nîmoise MATPEBO NAMAYΣIKABO'; see *C. I. L.*, XII,

p. 383, where the Editor terms the part of the stone inscribed 'Capitulei marmorei abacus'. The sides of this square measure about 2 feet 4 inches, but only two sides are visible, for it has been cemented into a corner of a court of the University. It is believed, however, that the other two sides had been so damaged that no writing was left on them when the fragment was put into its present position. What can be now read stands as follows:—

. . . . . IA . . . . | INOYCIΔ . . . |

The lower ends of several letters occur before the Λ; the next before it was probably I, or else one of the letters Γ, T, or P. After the Λ comes L, which might be an I joining the beginning of an A. The letters on the second side are all quite legible as far as they go, but the stone breaks off after the Δ. However, the C looks as if it had a point in its centre, a feature by no means unusual in other inscriptions, but M. Babut was decidedly of opinion that it is only a little excoriation of the stone, and the Editor of the *Inscriptions de Languedoc, Nîmes*, No. 107, appears not to reckon it a part of the lettering; see Holder, s. v., ... *inouci*, where a Latin *c* has no business, if one may trust the Λ, Y, Δ, which argue Greek values for all the letters. But whether one is to divide the words between the I and the Δ is not certain, for one cannot rely on the absence of a point there. Holder pronounces for Δ[EΔE] which would suggest the βρατουδε formula, and prevent our construing the whole as an epitaph. This is strongly corroborated by the position of the lettering and the general similarity of the whole to the Nîmes inscription in honour of the Nemausian Mothers. Possibly *ινονσι* was not the whole of the name. Holder has collected some names ending in *-uso-*, *-ussa-* (*At(t)ussa*, *Bergussa*, &c.), and *-ussio-*, *-ussia* (*Atussia*, *Cantussius*, *Cintussia*, &c.), but perhaps the ones most nearly in point are *Bergussa*, and the *Bergusia* to be mentioned presently as the name of a goddess (p. 34 below). The dative of *Bergus(s)a* and *Bergusia* might be *Bergusi* in both alike. So vice versa, . . . *ινονσι* might be the dative of the name of a goddess . . . *ινονσα*. The whole inscription might accordingly be: 'So-and-so to the goddess . . . inusa gratefully gave firstfruits.' This is a mere conjecture, but whatever the inscription was as a whole, the care with which the lettering was cut, and the place where it was cut, indicate that it was regarded as an important document. So much the greater the pity that it has been practically lost to Celtic epigraphy.

8. Before leaving the inscriptions of the South of France I may here mention one which I have not seen, to wit, the one given in *C. I. L.*,

XII. 5793, as belonging to the vicinity of Alleins (Bouches-du-Rhône). It reads as follows:

ΚΟΓΓΕΝΝ
ΟΛΙΤΑΝΟ
C ΚΑΡΘΙΛΙΤΑ
ΝΙΟC

This would mean 'Congennolitanos son of Carthilitanos', and *litano-* is represented exactly in Irish by *leathan* and in Welsh by *llydan*, 'wide, large.' But what did *Congenno-* mean? I can make nothing of it, unless it meant acquisition or possession, from the same origin as the *Gendill-i* of the Stainton bilingual in Pembrokeshire, and its Welsh derivative name *Gennillin*. Among the kindred words are Latin pre*hendo*, 'I lay hold of, seize, grasp, catch, take,' Greek χανδάνω, ἔχαδον, χείσομαι, 'I seize hold of,' English 'get, be*get*, for*get*'. The reduction of *nd* to *nn*, *n*, has parallels in such forms as *Esanekoti*, *Anokopokios*, for *Exandecotti*, *Andocombogios* in the Celtic inscription at Novara in N. Italy. The whole compound may, accordingly, have meant 'one who is large as to his possessions, one who acquires far and wide'. The *genn* in *Congenno-* is probably the same as in Ad-*gen(n)*- already discussed at p. 18 above; the predominant spelling doubles the *n* in that name likewise. The other name, Καρθιλιταν-, is still more obscure; but possibly the Θ stands for a lisped *s*, and Καρθι goes with the *carsi-* of such names as *Carsius* and *Carsia*, *Carsicios*, *Carsidius*, and *Carsidia* quoted by Holder. But these are too obscure to be of any present help, and it seems preferable here to give *θ* its normal sound of *th*. It is well known that in Brythonic *rt*, *rc*, *rp* are represented by *rth*, *rch*, *rff* or *rph*, while Goidelic retains the older consonants. The difference forms a far-reaching distinction between Goidelic and Brythonic. The modification would probably be mostly ignored for centuries in the orthography as a corruption. So there is very little chance of discovering when it came in; but it is possible that it took place both in Gaulish and Brythonic; that is to say, there was a tendency to this pronunciation even before Brythonic separated from Gaulish. In that case we could equate καρθι- with the first syllable of Καρταρος in the celebrated Nîmes *ex-voto* to the Ματρεβο Ναμαυσικαβο (*Celtic Inscr.*, p. 34), and with the *cart-i* of one of the Rom defixions (ibid., p. 95), also with the *cart-i* (for *carthi*) in *Cartimandus*, *Cartimandua*, a name familiar to the readers of Tacitus. The second element in them has been interpreted by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Noms Gaulois*, pp. 127, 128) as 'one who thinks, reflects, meditates, minds', the origin being the same in fact as that of the Greek

verb *μανθάνω, ἔμαθον*, 'I have learnt'; one might doubtless add the English word *mind*, both noun and verb. What the meaning of *καρθι, carti*, may have been is not known, but my conjecture is that it signified 'strong, powerful, vigorous', as this would seem to fit the cases mentioned without any violence to the context where there is any. *Cartimandus* would accordingly mean 'one who thinks powerfully, one possessed of a strong or vigorous mind'. Similarly *Καρθιλιτανος* should mean 'one who is powerful or active far and wide'.

III

1. The number of inscriptions in Celtic found on Mont-Auxois and brought to Alise-Sainte-Reine near the Alisia of ancient Gaul, has materially grown since my paper on the *Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy* was written. In fact at that time there was only one such, and my notes on that require to be revised in the light of an *ex-voto* in Latin to be mentioned presently. I read the former now as follows:—

MARTIALIS ▾ DANNOTALI
I EVRV ▾ VCVETE ▾ SOSIN
CELICNON ↺ ETIC
GOBEDBI ▾ DVGI|ONTI|O
VCVETIN
↻ IN ... ALISI|A ↺

In that paper (p. 4) I had committed the mistake of placing the last leaf but one at the beginning of the last line but one: it really belongs to the last line of all. The gap I suggested filling by inserting DV, but I am now in doubt, since the D, had it been there, would still probably show a small portion of the bottom opposite the reader's left hand. I cannot suggest at present how the lacuna is to be filled. The Editor of the *C. I. L.* (vol. XIII. 2880) has suggested a leaf. In that case, the line originally read, ↻ IN ↻ ALISI|A ↺. If one can accept the three leaves, there is an end of the difficulty. A parallel, with a leaf placed between a preposition and its noun, occurs in a Bourges inscription, which reads *vissu* instead of the *iussu* to be expected:—

MARTI
RIGISAMO
TI. IVL. EVNVS
EX ↺ VISSV

See *C. I. L.*, XIII. 1190, and the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*, vol. XIII, p. 153, also Holder, s. v. *Rigi-samus*. The

MONT-AUXOIS INSCRIPTIONS

PHOTO. 7

PHOTO. 8

THE SAMOTALOS MONUMENT

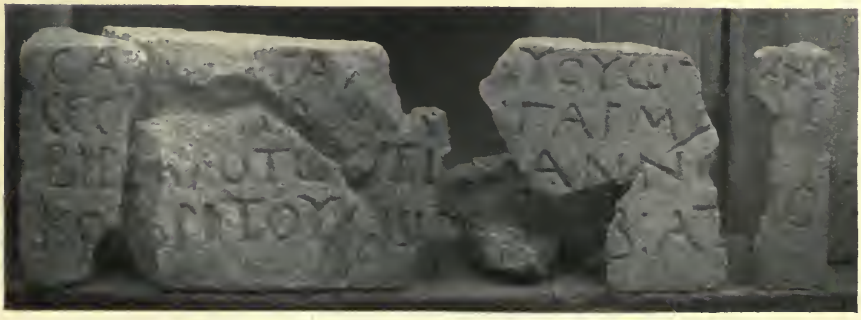

PHOTO 9*a*

post-card photograph No. 7 will enable you to follow readily the points to which I have called attention.

Coming to the interpretation, we should first mention that we now know that the divinity in question was a god, not a goddess, and that the accusative *Ucuetin* implies a nominative *Ucuetis*. The dative *Ucuete* is not exactly what we should have expected, but rather *Ucueti*. I have explained in my previous paper, p. 6, that *Ucuet-* analyses itself into *Ud-guh-et-* for an earlier *Ud-gus-et-*; the meaning was probably 'chosen or selected', and in the case of a male divinity the selection was doubtless on the score of his excelling in feats of valour. Compare such Celtic names as Irish *Fergus*, Mod. Ir. *Fearghus*, Welsh *Gurgust*, *Grwst*, 'a choice man,' and Irish *Oingus*, *Oengus*, 'the one or unique choice,' Welsh *Unwst*.

The next vocable to call for attention is DVGIIONTIIO: the related forms have been discussed at p. 3 above. Had the same orthography been followed as in Γιαονα, *Giava*, *Dugius*, and *Dugiava*, we should have *dugiontio*. But it was not wholly a matter of spelling, as the development of *i* into *i̯i* in such a position was a characteristic of Gaulish including Brythonic. It took place, as far as we can understand, under the stress accent; we set out from *dugi̯i̯-*, and add a formative element *-onti̯i̯o*, carrying the stress accent with it, so that the first part of the word was then probably reduced to *dugi̯*, the whole being pronounced *dugi̯onti̯i̯o*. So the spelling of the word in the inscription would be as unphonetic as that of English *vineyard* after *vine* as a part of the compound had been reduced to *vĭn*, the pronunciation of the whole being *vinyard*.

Holder, in his *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, has brought together a number of words formed with *-ontio-*, *-ontiā*, and *-untio-*, *-untiā*, including among them *Gerontius*, *Gerontia*, of which the form in Welsh was *Gereint*, now *Geraint*, Cornish *Gerons*; and *Segontius*, *Segontia*, *Segontium*, which was in Old Welsh *Segeint*, as in Nennius's *Cair Segent*, later *Kaer Seint yn Arvon*[1] = Carnarvon, with *Seint* the name of the river on which it stands, now *Afon Saint*. The Latin parallels are such as *Cluentius*, *Cluentia*, the name of a Roman gens, and such abstract nouns as *sapientia*. For the vowels compare *Nodons*, genitive *Nodontos*, in Latin *Nodens*, gen. *Nodentis*. We

[1] See the Mabinogi of Branwen (Oxford *Mab.*, p. 34). *Afon Saint* is ambiguous in Modern Welsh as it suggests 'Saints' River'; and a local legend may be looked for to explain all about the saints. There is also another form of the same word, namely, *Seiont*, introduced much later, probably by an antiquary or somebody who was too learned to know how to reduce *Segontium* to its correct form in Welsh.

must probably regard *dug(i)i̯ontíi̯o* as standing for *dugi̯ontíi̯o-s* or *dugi̯ontíi̯o-n*, masculine or neuter: phonologically the former is, perhaps, the more probable.

I presume that the inscription referred to joining or uniting, but in what sense? Several seem possible, but the related forms would suggest conjugal union or marriage. In that case the whole inscription might be rendered thus:—

> Martial, Dannotal's son, made Ucuetis this tower;
> And may the marriage rejoice Ucuetis in Alisia.

The other two instances of II at the end of DVGIIONTIIO and ALISIIA had, as suggested in the same paper (pp. 4, 5), the full force of *íi̯(o)* and *íi̯(ā)* as the antecedents of what would in Welsh be *-yđ* and *-eđ*, masculine (or neuter) and feminine respectively. I lay no stress on the fact of the two perpendiculars differing in length; thus in the Coligny Calendar short I and long I imply no difference of sound. The difference of length was probably intended here to prevent the two perpendiculars being read E, seeing that Latin II was a way of writing E; unfortunately it did not always prove effective till Holder showed a better way. Now supposing that the letters used happened to be Greek, there would be no need to use II rather than II. When I wrote my paper I knew of no spelling parallel to that in the Alise inscription either in Latin letters or Greek: I do now, thanks to the courtesy and keen-sightedness of the learned French numismatist, M. Changarnier. In a letter to me dated Beaune, August 29, 1910, he asked what I should think of Celtic coins reading on the reverse in Greek letters: ΨΛΑΒΡΟΔΙΙΟC. I saw at once that the word following the star was a shortened compound for an earlier *Λāμα-ροδíi̯ος*, meaning, 'Him of the giving hand, an open-handed man, a bounteous giver.' In the same spelling a 'giving hand' would have been *Lāmā rodíi̯ā*, as the word for 'hand' was a feminine, *lāmā* (for an earlier *plāmā*), Irish *lám*, Welsh *llaw*, *llawf-*, *llof-*, Latin *palma*, A.-Sax. *folme*, Greek παλάμη, 'flat hand.' The rest of the name is of the same origin as Welsh *rhođi*,[1] 'to put or place, to give,' *rhođ*, 'a gift,' *rhyđ*, 'will give,'

[1] The derivation of the word *rhođ-i* is a puzzle, but I am inclined to treat it in the same way as Irish *bodhar*, Welsh *byđar*, 'deaf,' Sanskrit *badhirá*, 'deaf,' from a root which in that language takes the nasalized form of *bandh*, 'to bind, to obstruct,' and in English such forms as 'bind, band, bond' and their congeners in the other Teutonic languages: see my note on the ancient Ogam genitive *Cattu-butta(s)* (later *Cath-bodh*, *Cath-badh*), in the *Journal of the R. Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, for 1908, pp. 201–4. The nasal form implied in the

imperative *rho, dy-ro*, 'give': the spoken language freely drops the soft dental in this group of words. But as a compound forming an epithet or name of a man, not of a woman, Gaulish gave it a masculine termination, thereby making it into *Lāma-rodi̯o-s*, which would have yielded in Welsh *Llaw(f)-roðyð*, a form which is unknown; what we have was *Llaw(f)-roðeð*, representing an early *Lāma-roði̯ā*. This treatment is well known in Irish proper names: take, for instance, the feminine noun *gal*, 'passion, bravery,' genitive *gaile*; any masculine name ending with *gal* is declined like a feminine, as, for instance, in the case of *Con-gal*, gen. *Con-gaile*, and so in other cases. The literary tendency in Welsh seems to be to proceed on the same lines as Gaulish; thus we should probably write *aderyn du pigfelyn*, 'a yellow-beaked blackbird,' where *aderyn du* and *melyn* are masculine, while *pig* is feminine, so that 'a yellow beak' has to become *pig felen*. Nevertheless, as a child I learnt to say *'deryn du pigfelen* in North Cardiganshire, to which corresponds *'deryn du pigfelan*, current, as I am told, in the neighbourhood of Snowdon.

present instance has its kindred in the Letto-Slavic languages, for instance in Lithuanian *rinda* (fem.), 'order, arrangement,' and Old Bulgarian *rědŭ*, 'order.' Another Celtic word of the same origin retains the nasal with a different vowel: it is Irish *rann* (fem.) for early *randa*, Welsh *rhann*, now spelt *rhan*, 'a part, a share, one's portion in life as fixed by destiny.' We have probably a related form in Irish *rann* (mas.), 'a stanza, a quatrain,' i.e. an artistic arrangement of words: Irish *rind* (neuter), 'a star,' is not to be associated with this group of words but with Irish *rind*, 'a point,' Welsh *rhyn*, the same. For *nn* from *nd* compare the like reduction in Continental Celtic mentioned at p. 29 above. It also dates early in Irish, and is found represented in the *cob-ranar(i)* instanced at p. 76 below by a single *n*, as is always the case with *qena-, qen-*, whence the later Irish *cend, ceann*, Welsh *penn*, now spelt *pen*, 'the end of anything, the head,' a sequence of meanings suggested by a conjecture which I have read somewhere that *qenn-* is of the same origin as English *hind, hindmost*, &c. We possibly have the element *rod-* also in the name *Rŏdănos*, which in that case probably meant bounteous or liberally giving. But in Irish *rod-* is disguised as *rad-*, so that the equivalent of *Labrodi̯os* and Welsh *Llawfroðeð* takes the form *Labraid*, genitive *Labrada* for early *Labrodi-s, Labrodi̯-os* of the *i* declension; and besides the famous Irish name *Labraid*, anglicized *Lowry*, there was a nasalized form *Labraind*, 'of the distributing hand,' to which Professor Kuno Meyer kindly calls my attention as occurring by way of personal epithet in the Bk. of Leinster, fo. 17^{b}, 18^{a}. It is disguised also in various forms when prefixed to the verb which we have already met with reduplicated as *de-de*, 'gave, *dedit*.' Thus we should have *rod-de* making *rote*, and, with the *o* changed into *a*, we should have *rate, rati*, cut down in the perfect to *do-rat*, 'has given, *dedit*,' prototonic form *tarat*, '*dedit*.' A somewhat similar compound is *creitim*, 'I believe,' with a verb element equating, so to say, with Greek *τίθημι*, Sanskrit *dadhāmi*. See Rhŷs's *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, p. 73^{iii}; Thurneysen's *Handbuch*, p. 87, also pp. 33, 322, 444.

To say the least of it, this agrees with the Irish treatment and with what would have been *Lāb-rodn̄a, Llawf-roðeð.*[1]

We now come to the Latin inscription to which allusion has already been made. It is on a bronze vase found on Mont-Auxois in 1908, which was then kept at Alise in the house of M. Pernet, director of the excavations for the 'Société des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de Semur'. He was good enough to let me see it in August, 1909: it is now in the new Museum of that Society there, and I examined it again last April. It reads as follows:—

DEO ▵ VCVETI
ET · BERGVSIAE
REMVS[2] ▵ PRIMI ▵ FIL
DONAVIT
VSLM

To the god Ucuetis and to Bergusia Remus son of Primius made this gift. He pays his vow willingly and for good reason.

Here we have the name of a goddess *Bergusia*, though elsewhere it occurs as that of a town. There was one such in the land of the Ilergetes, and it is now called Balaguer, in the Spanish province of Lerida. Another Bergusia, now called *Bourgoin*, is in the French Department of Isère: see Holder, s. v. *Bergusia*. To explain the meaning of the name we must have recourse to its etymology, and I may mention that Stokes (p. 171) derives it from *bergo-*, which he renders

[1] The modern spelling is *Llawf-roded* with a *d* to avoid the sequence *oðeð*, which took place all the more readily doubtless because all tradition about the bearer of the name seems to have been lost, and the medieval spelling left it an open question whether the first of the two dentals was sounded *d* or *ð*. The following are all the allusions in point which occur to me: (1) The Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 159 ('Rhonabwy's Dream'), reads Llaƈuroded uaryfaƈc, 'Ll. the bearded,' and p. 108 (Kulhwch and Olwen) Llaƈnrodet uaruaƈc (with a *u* misread *n*) from a more ancient MS. with *t* regularly used to represent *ð*. (2) The Horses Triads, printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, II. 22, have appended to them a Kine Triad to the following effect: Three chief cows of the Isle of Prydain: Maelgwn Gwyneð's Brindled Cow, Greyskin the cow of Olifer Gosgorðfawr's Sons, and Cornillo the cow of Llawfroded farfawc (or *farchawc*): see Evans's *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language*, vol. I, part ii, 380, 381, where the reading of the MS., Peniarth 47, is given as *buwch laƈvroded varvaƈc*. (3) The third and late series (*Myvyr.*, p. 70, No. 85) has a triad applied to the three clan herdsmen of the Isle of Prydain, the third of whom is described as 'Llawfroðeð Farfawc, who herded the Cattle of Nuð the Bounteous, son of Senyllt; and in that herd were 21,000 milch cows.' (4) Lastly Rice Rees in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints* (p. 298) introduces *Llawfroðeð* into a Saint's pedigree, thus: 'Idloes, the son of Gwyðnabi ab Llawfroðeð Farfog Coch.' Compare *The Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, p. 268.

[2] The MV of REMVS are ligatured, and the I of FIL is not visible to me, having been worn away, while the foot of the L drops below the line. There is, I think, no doubt as to the reading of the whole.

by the German *Berg*, a mountain, associating with it *Bergomum*, now *Bergamo*, in North Italy. *Bergo-* is probably to be completed into *Bergo-s*, whence a *Bergus Mons*, from which Holder derives the name of the *Bois de Berg*, to the east of *Villeneuve-de-Berg*, in the Dep. of Ardèche. Now *Bergos* has its equivalent in the Welsh word *bera*, just as *bolgos* has yielded Welsh *bola*, 'sack or belly.' *Bera*, however, does not mean a mountain, but a rick or stack of corn or hay; Davies defines it as 'acervus segetis vel faeni'. This suggests that Bergusia was a harvest goddess wedded annually to a harvest god, whose name Ucuetis was perhaps like Rivos only an alias of the redoubtable harvest god Lugus.[1] There is, however, another possibility which is perhaps worth mentioning, for it is right to say that Dr. Pughe and Silvan Evans make the idea of a pyramid part and parcel of their definition of a *bera*, which the latter expresses thus: 'a pyramidal heap; a stack of corn or hay (in the form of a pyramid); a stack; a pyramid.' We should like to know whether the *Bergus Mons* was not so called from its fancied likeness at a distance to some object resembling a pyramid, and that the local divinity, Bergusia, simply took her name from that of a mountain called Bergus. The district is a remarkable one, and I asked my friend, Professor Babut, what he knew about the landscape. I explained to him the sense which I should attach to the name *Bergus*, and he replied as follows:—

'J'ai trouvé un collègue qui connaît fort bien Villeneuve-de-Berg. Cette vieille petite ville est le centre d'un pays d'aspect désolé, où la roche volcanique apparaît, du pied de la montagne au faîte, entièrement nue. Vous trouverez facilement à Oxford "L'Histoire de France" de Lavisse, Tome I, 1, "Tableau de la Géographie de la France" par Vidal de la Blache. A la page 269, à droite en bas sur la carte, vous verrez la position de Villeneuve, au fond d'une dépression qu'entoure une ceinture de petits pitons volcaniques, des *puys* à proportions réduites. Il me semble que la vue de cette carte est très-propre à confirmer votre conjecture sur le sens de *Berg*.'

To return to the inscription in Gaulish; one cannot be expected to accept the conjecture that *dug*[*i*]*iontîo* meant marriage, without some parallel elsewhere by way of corroboration. As it happens, there is no lack: witness our colleague Dr. Frazer's discussion of

[1] For Lugus, Irish Lug, and his consort in Irish mythology, see my *Notes on the Coligny Calendar*, read to the British Academy, Jan. 26, 1910, pp. 23–5, 27, 31, 35, 49. For the words 'at Carman, where Wexford now stands', pp. 16, 38, and elsewhere, one is requested to read 'at Carman on the Curragh of Kildare', and to see the reasons for the substitution given at length by Mr. Orpen in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, for 1906, pp. 11–41, which I overlooked when my paper was written.

them in his *Lectures on the early History of the Kingship*, pp. 156–8, 169–79. The instances there passed in review, including among them the case of the King and Queen of May still known in this country, suggest that the wedding ceremony or the sham marriage may have been carried out in any one of the following ways: (1) The images of Ucuetis and Bergusia were married together, and afterwards placed in the *celicnon* or tower to repose side by side till the ensuing year. (2) A woman of rank was engaged to personate the goddess and to shut herself up in the *celicnon* to be visited by the god in person. (3) Both the god and the goddess were personated by a man and a woman who afterwards shut themselves up for a time in the *celicnon*. For the object of such ceremonies I venture to quote from the same work a few lines ending in a reference to Gaul (pp. 177, 178): 'The sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera had, as was natural, its counterpart in heathen times among the northern kinsfolk of the Greeks. In Sweden every year a life-size image of Frey, the god of fertility, both animal and vegetable, was drawn about the country in a waggon attended by a beautiful girl who was called the god's wife. She acted also as his priestess in his great temple at Upsala. Wherever the waggon came with the image of the god and his blooming young bride, the people crowded to meet them and offer sacrifices for a fruitful year. Similar ceremonies appear to have been observed by the peasantry of Gaul in antiquity; for Gregory of Tours,[1] writing in the sixth century of our era, says that at Autun the people used to carry about an image of a goddess in a waggon drawn by oxen. The intention of the ceremony was to ensure the safety of the crops and vines, and the rustics danced and sang in front of the image. The old historian identifies the goddess with Cybele, the great Mother Goddess of Phrygia, and the comparison, if not the identification, is just; for the rites of Cybele conformed closely to the type of the sacred marriage here discussed.'

This will suffice; and on the whole I am inclined to prefer the view that Bergusia was a harvest goddess with a part to play more or less like that played by the goddesses whom Dr. Frazer mentions. The *celicnon* or building presented to Ucuetis would thus seem to have been made with a view to the marriage of that god with Bergusia and to the housing therein of the pair until the ceremony should be repeated in the ensuing year.[2]

[1] Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Confessorum*, 77 (Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, lxxi. col. 884). Dr. Frazer compares Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Martini*, 12.

[2] Since writing the above I find M. Vendryes in the *Revue Celtique*, XXXII. 119, 120, treating *gobedbi* as a dative plural—perhaps better dual—and *dugiiontiio* as a relative verb of the third person plural. He renders the whole approximately

2. An inscribed stone, forming a face of a square capital, was found in 1907 on Mont-Auxois at a spot called La Fanderolle, and it was bought for the Museum of Alise by the Mayor, Dr. Epery. I had received letters about the inscription from Commandant Espérandieu and M. Changarnier, whose names figure more than once in this paper. I examined it in August, 1909, when I found, as I had been told, that the end of the stone opposite the reader's left hand had been damaged of old, and that the fracture had carried away the initial letter: hardly more I fancy. In any case I could read the following letters:—

ITOCAYOY
ωT

What the letter preceding the I may have been, if there was one at all, I cannot say, but M. Changarnier supposes it to have been a curved character such as an open Greek C, rather than any letter with a vertical line. The first line would in that case be CITOCAYOY. In the second line there is one letter which is unmistakable, and that is T. This seemed to be preceded by another letter, which I made out with some trouble to be an omega.

The importance of this little inscription will appear presently. It was the first I looked at on my visit to Alise last April, when with the assistance of Dr. Epery I took an extemporized squeeze of it by pressing on the stone a piece of blotting-paper, thick and wetted. This was in the evening; when I returned in the morning (April 25) I took another. They were both quite successful, and completely dispelled various difficulties which had troubled me. The stone is oolitic, and the edge measures about six inches. I now consider it certain that there was no writing before the omega of the second line, and the oblique position in which that letter lies and the length of its last limb accounts for the distance at which the T appears to follow. The roughness of the surface, where the ω is situated, prevents me from tracing with precision the way in which the three portions of that letter were joined with one another at the bottom. I may add that there was no letter before ITOC; had there been such there is so much of the surface left that some of the letter would be still visible. My previous reading is confirmed as making ITOC AYOYωT. This is shown in photograph No. 8, which represents one of the pieces of blotting-paper which I have mentioned, but with the hollows of the

thus: 'Martialis fils de Dannotalos a fait pour Ucuetis cet édifice, et pour les prêtres (?) qui servent Ucuetis à Alise.' The general sense of what M. Vendryes treats as the verb is compatible with what I have suggested, and one would have only to read 'who belong to Ucuetis at Alise'.

lettering gently darkened by means of a lead pencil. This is not scientific, but it will serve to show what the cast enabled me to trace on the stone itself.

The name *Ito-s* is probably to be equated with the element *ito* in *Itotagi*, the genitive of a Gaulish gladiator's name occurring at Pompei: see Holder, s. v. and *C. I. L.*, IV. 2451. We come next to the strange looking sequence AYOYΩT, in connexion with which it may be mentioned that Greek *αυ* and *αου* are both transcribed AV in Latin inscriptions. Compare, for instance, Νεμανσος or Νεμανσον with Latin NEMAVSENSES, and Καύαρος, Καούαροι with the Latin spellings *Cavaros*, *Cavares*. Thus we have not only Greek AY making AV in Latin, but the Greek digraph OY regularly represented in Latin by V. So AYOYΩT should make in Latin orthography AVVOT, and we know exactly how we stand.

In 1888 M. Heron de Villefosse, one of the leading members of the 'Académie des Inscriptions', called attention to a Celtic word variously abbreviated AVVOT, AVOT, AVO, AV, A, found appended to the name of the manufacturer on several pieces of Celtic pottery: see the *Revue Archéologique*, series III, volume XI, pp. 155–9. It had been assumed that *avvot* was a verb meaning *fecit*; but some years later M. d'Arbois de Jubainville solved the mystery of *avvot* in a short article in the *Recueil de Mémoires*, published in 1903 by the 'Société des Antiquaires de France' on the occasion of that body celebrating its centenary. He went on to show that even *avvot* was an abbreviation, for there was a longer spelling *avoti* on a piece in the museum at Trier, and another in that of Nymeguen (*C. I. L.*, XIII. iii. p. 160, No. 160, and p. 146, No. 217). That was not all, for he was able to point to the full nominative at the museum at Ghent, where one reads (ibid., p. 163, No. 362):—

$$\frac{\text{BVCCOS}}{\text{AVOTIS}}$$

Of the forms with *vv*, the *Corpus Inscr. Latinarum* gives (ibid., p. 474, No. 85) several instances, one of which reads: REXTVGENOS SVLLIAS AVVOT. It comes from Fégréac (Loire-Inf.), and it is in the Nantes Museum. M. Reinach has had a cast of it added to his excellent collection at the Château de Saint-Germain, No. 31462. It may be mentioned that among the names on the shields on the triumphal arch at Orange (A. D. 21) one is [BO]VDILLVS AVOT. I cannot pass in silence over the instances which I was shown at the Departmental Museum at Moulins-sur-Allier by its keeper, the veteran archæologist, M. Bertrand, who has made, among other things, a remarkable collection of moulds. Three of them have graffito

writing on them traced with a stile: one of a saddled horse reads *Sacrillos Avot*; and another, that of a pigeon, reads:—

AUOTI FORMI
SACR(I)LLOS CARATI

For these instances associated with Sacrillos see *C. I. L.*, XIII. iii. 10015. 38 (p. 470), and Photos. 13, 14, 15 of M. Bertrand's tracings presented to me for this paper.

M. d'Arbois closed his paper with the etymology of the word *Avotis*, connecting with it a man's name, *Avota*, so read by no less an authority than M. Mowat (*C. I. L.*, ibid., p. 150, No. 249). Here might doubtless be added AVVIIT from an inscription in the Autun Museum, reading *Norba Avvet*[*i f.*] (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 2747a). The late Professor of Celtic detects the *avo* of *Avotis* in the *ói* of the Irish verb *con-ói*, 'he protects,' for an early **com-auet*. Then he equates *avet* with the Sanskrit *auati*, **aueti*, which he gives as meaning 'il fait avancer, hâte, protège, commande'. And *avotis* he accordingly explains to be 'celui qui fait faire', 'celui qui commande dans l'usine', in other words the literal rendering of *avotis* into Latin would be, he thought, '*factor* ou peut-être même *dominus*.' Latin *avus*, *avos*, 'grandfather,' he regarded as belonging to the same stock; for as a matter of fact the grandfather was in Roman law the master. I am inclined to emphasize the idea of *dominus*, as against that of *factor*, as meaning in relation to a workshop the owner, the proprietor also and the master of the slaves who did the work, in a word, the lord of the whole concern. This is corroborated by the editor of the *Corpus* (XII. 1231): two of the shield inscriptions on the Orange triumphal arch appear to consist of two words, the *Boudillus Avot* already mentioned, and another near the end of the series, *Bodvacus . . . vavne*. On these the editor has the following note: 'Nomina sunt ducum Gallorum; AVOT et VAvNE vocabula nominibus adiecta utrum originem an dignitatem indicent dubitari potest.' *Bodvacus* was a princely name, and so probably was *Boudillus*, and the fact that the latter has the first place on the south side of the arch may have had a significance favourable to the view that *Avotis* in the wider sense of the word meant a lord or prince. In the present instance, however, one can only claim for it the sense of proprietor, director, or head of the firm, and the inscription ITOC AYOYωT, that is *Itos Avvōt*, may be most aptly compared with that of BVCCOS AVOTIS, except that the latter gives the nominative in full.

Far the commonest form of the word in writing is the abbreviation *avot*, with which, of course, I include *avvot*. It is hardly necessary

to say that *vv*, probably pronounced *u̯u̯* or *w*, is familiar enough to the reader of Holder's great collection of Celtic names, in such cases as *Bavviacus* (s. v. *-aco-*), *Cavvama* (s. v. *-amo-*), and others, not to mention instances of Greek origin, such as *Evvanielis* and *Evvaristus* (*C. I. L.*, XII. 192, 1751). Similarly some of the earliest Ogam inscriptions of Ireland and Wales double the *u̯* or *v* (ᚃᚃ ᚃᚃ), as in *avvi*, *avi*, a word of the *i̯o* declension, and meaning 'those connected with the *avos*', those reared and protected by him. We have the doubling also in the Latin portion of an Irish bilingual epitaph reading IVVERE DRVVIDES, which might be written *Iu̯u̯erae Dru̯u̯ides*, or *Iwerae Drwides*: see my *Studies in Early Irish History*, read to the British Academy in March, 1903. The spelling IVVERE, 'of Erin,' is the key to Mela and Juvenal's name of Ireland, namely IVVERNA, which, if we believe the editors, the poet must have pronounced *i̯ūverna*. This carries the spelling with *vv* which was common to the Goidels and some of the Celts of Gaul back to the first or second century of our era, and it argues intercourse between Gaul and Ireland.

3. A Celtic inscription found in August, 1906, in a field called Lapipe-Sené on Mont-Auxois, is briefly described by Commandant Espérandieu in the periodical *Pro Alesia*, 1906, pp. 43–5, plate xi. It was found near the western wall of a building with three apses, which he has promised to describe. The inscription is on four fragments, without reckoning comparatively small bits, some of which have never been found, while the position of others cannot be fixed. These do not appear in the Commandant's last photograph, which is reproduced here with his kind permission as Photo. 9 *a*. He gives the dimensions as 0^{m} 29 high by 0^{m} 20 thick: the length could not be given as the blocks had not been brought close together when I saw them in August, 1909; but as I had them placed last April the length was about 0^{m} 88. In 1909 they were in a temporary museum, but since then the Société des Sciences de Semur has had all the fragments that could be found set up in the new museum which it has organized at Alise.

I have received letters from M. Changarnier and M. Seymour de Ricci, kindly giving me their readings of the fragments, but I differ from both in places; and as they have not published their readings I shall, as a rule, confine myself to comparing my own guesses with Commandant Espérandieu's reading, as given in *Pro Alesia*, 1906, p. 43. He has kindly given me permission to make use of previous photographs, which he sent me from time to time. The differences between our versions reduce themselves within narrow

limits. Photograph 9 *a* gives a view of the *tout ensemble* of the bigger fragments.

My reading of the letters extant or partly visible in the first line runs as follows :—

CAM . . TAΛO . . : *a*ΥOΥΩT . . KNO
C

I only differ from the Commandant as to the K, the perpendicular stroke of which is mostly gone ; he took what is left of the letter as forming the first part of an A leaning on the N following, but not touching it. At the very first sight of the earliest photograph which he sent me, I guessed that the group of letters at the end, including the C underneath, made KNOC, *cnos*. The ΛOC of *Samotalos* was on a fragment not represented in photograph 9 *a*, though most of it was in the first photographs which he was good enough to send me (Nos. 9 *b*, 9 *c*). That fragment was loose, it is true, but it was an important one, and it had on it nearly the whole of the Λ preceding the O, together with the upper half of the A of MA below in the second line. I may add that M. de Ricci thinks that he can fit to it the first of the Commandant's smaller bits in such a way as to complete the O of TAΛOC and produce most of the C. I have seen neither of the pieces themselves.

The fragmentary letter before the first crack suggests a wide M, and the whole compound would be CAMOTAΛOC, which I was able to confirm on re-examining the stone. The photograph shows before the T what appears to be a bit of a slanting straight line, which, however, on being carefully scrutinized proved to be a deeply cut arc of a large O. The first letter on the next block (Photo. 9 *c*) was either an A, Λ, or M, but the two latter are ruled out by the unmistakable identity of the singular sequence AΥOΥΩT—the last trace of writing can only be part of a T—with the AΥOΥΩT of the previous inscription. Lastly, since by far the most common vowel preceding *cno-s* in ancient Celtic names is *i*, we may treat the first line as CAMOTAΛOC : AΥOΥΩTIKNOC, meaning 'Samotalos, son of Avvōtis', or son of an *avvōtis*.

The second line I read thus: CEC . . . . . $\frac{A\,\Lambda}{\Lambda\,A}$MA . . . . : ΓAPMA. It ends with ΓAPMA, of which the second A is imperfect, as it reaches only into the last gap. It does not come near the C beneath the first line and belonging to that line. Moreover, there is nothing to suggest that ΓAPMA is an abbreviation. I take it, therefore, to be a woman's name, and to have been preceded by a feminine CECIA, or perhaps CECIs, the whole designation being approximately CECIa

ΓΑΡΜΑ, with the genitive of the father's name coming between them. What remains of the latter consists of ΜΑ preceded by ΑΛ or ΛΑ or ΛΛ; and the ΜΑ was followed by a letter with a perpendicular, along a part of which the fracture seems to have run, so that the letter may have been a Κ. The first letter of the name may have likewise been Κ, and the genitive as a whole some such form as ΚΛΑΜΑΚΙ or ΚΑΛΜΑΚΙ. The line might then be represented as ϹΕϹΙΑ : ΚΛΑΜΑΚΙ⁻: ΓΑΡΜΑ, meaning 'Sesia Garma, daughter of *Calmacios* or *Clamacios*'. The latter part of the second Α of ΓΑΡΜΑ is gone, and the cementing has been rather badly done.

The third line reads: ΒΙΡΑΚΟΤΩΥΤΙ . . . . . ΑΝΝΩ. Here all the first eight letters are certain, though a fracture runs through the first Α and leaves a little of the first limb on the first block, and the rest on the second, on which the top of the Κ is gone. The next letter after the Ω was Υ: the right arm is there, and the bottom point of the perpendicular. Then come the letters ΤΙ, with no room left for the stop (:) to precede as one would expect. The letters ΤΙ are followed by a slight trace of some curved letter like Greek sigma, Ϲ, at the edge of the gap: it may equally well have been Ο. In any case I am unable to decide what letter or letters have disappeared in the gap preceding the letters ΑΝΝ. We then come to the edge of the last gap, where we have the beginning of a letter which I take to have been Ω rather than Ο: the Commandant, reproducing only what is still visible, gives it as Ϲ. This line ended with the letter in question, whatever it was, just opposite the final Α of ΓΑΡΜΑ.

The fourth line reads: ΚΟΒΡΙΤΟΥΛΩΥ . . . . . Β : ΑΤΝΟ. The first name ΚΟΒΡΙΤΟΥΛΩΥ has its Β divided by the fracture already mentioned as passing through the first Α of the third line. After the Ω comes an oblique ˋ which the Commandant gives without hesitation; it is there and can only be the beginning of Υ. So we may compare the sequence ΩΥ here with the same in the third line, and both may be equated with the dative ending *oov* of *Tapavoov* of the Orgon *ex-voto* (*Celtic Inscr.*, p. 17). The *Corpus*, XIII. iii. 10017, Nos. 72 and 83 (pp. 489, 490), gives two instances; one, at Autun, is read by the editor ΑΜΟΥΤΩΥ, but query ΑΜΒΙΤΩΥ and compare *Ambitivus* cited by Holder. The other comes from Mont-Beuvray and is at Saint-Germain: it reads ΟΥΟΓΙΤΙΩΥ, 'to Vogitius,' whose name was evidently related to that of Vogitoutus mentioned at p. 11 above.

Returning to our text, we have after ΚΟΒΡΙΤΟΥΛΩΥ a lacuna followed by Β, which I take to be the last letter of an abbreviation

of some word in the dative plural entitled to a case termination in *bo*, such as we have in Ανδοουννα-βο and Ματρε-βο Ναμανσικα-βο, from an earlier *-bos*, equivalent to the Latin *-bus* in *dominabus*, *filiabus*, *matribus*, *vatibus*, *regibus*, and the like. At this point the inscriber had inevitably perceived that he would not have room enough for what he had to cut—hence the abbreviation. This is not our only misfortune, for a fracture has severed the group of letters for which he found space. As they stand, they read AT . . NO, with only the left half of the T intact, and of the N still less, to wit, the right perpendicular together with a little of the diagonal joining it at the bottom. But here there seems to be a difficulty: the NO appears to be on a slightly higher level than the rest of the line. This is partly—perhaps wholly—explained by the form of the N, which in this inscription tends to be ᚅ with its first perpendicular reaching lower than the second one. The same peculiarity may be noticed in the case of NΩ at the end of the third line, where the Ω is on a level with the first perpendicular of the ᚅ and not with that of the second. In the case of the NO at the end of the first line, the two limbs of the N do not differ much in length, but the second ends perceptibly higher than the level of the angle where the first begins to run downwards, and in this instance the O following takes an intermediate level. In the case in question in the fourth line we have to regard the N as having been probably of the form ᚅ and the O following as having been placed on the level of the second limb of the ᚅ. These forms of N are common enough in Latin inscriptions; and one may also compare the N in the Todi bilingual with the Celtic put into letters supposed to belong to the North Etruscan alphabet. For an extreme form of the N see the NN of the Collorgues fragment p. 21 above. In this connexion we are somewhat hampered by the bad cementing to which I have already referred: in the case of the second N of ANN we detect a distinct step in the first perpendicular of that letter, and it is visible in the photographs. If corrected, I do not know how it would work out. As it is, I found it was impossible to get the tops of the pieces to fall into line: the top of the KNOC fragment always appears to stand too high, which is due to the top of the preceding fragment having been fixed too low, owing to the clumsiness of the workman who did the cementing. It can hardly be remedied without running the risk of damaging the original stone.

This completes the front of the monument, but the Commandant called attention to two letters on the end of the stone, round the corner, and approximately on a level with the KNO of KNOC. He

reads them ΔΩ: the second letter is incomplete, but I could not make it anything else than an omega. Probably we should be right in regarding this as a continuation of the inscription on the front of the monument and completing the last word into ATNOΔΩ to be interpreted as an adverbial expression reminding one of the Latin *pie* or *piissime*; let us suggest 'affectionately, tearfully' or some such note of tenderness.

Putting before you the letters wholly or partly extant, together with some of those conjectured, we arrive at the following legend:—

CAMOTAΛOC : aYOYΩTιKNO | ΔΩ
CECIa : κΛAMAκι : ΓAPMA C
BIPAKOTΩYTI . . . . ANNΩ
KOBPITOYΛΩY : . . . . . B : ATNO

Now, though there are two lacunae left, a glance at the whole inscription discloses its nature. It is a sepulchral monument set up by a husband and his wife to their three children. The names of the parents are in the nominative case, while those of the offspring are in the dative. No verb is expressed, but the legend seems to close with an adverbial expression. Having gathered so much as to the general meaning of our text we may turn back to consider further some of the individual words of which it consists.

(1) CAMOTAΛOC, *Samotalos*. The name is cited by Holder from an inscription in the museum at Épinal, whither it found its way from Monthureux-sur-Saône (Vosges), and from a stamp on a basin at Le Châtelet in Belgium: see *C. I. L.*, XIII. iii. 10006. 82, where it has been treated as *Samoialus*. The late M. d'Arbois de Jubainville interpreted the compound as meaning 'l'homme au front doux', just as he renders *Samo-rix*, 'aimable roi': see his 'Noms Gaulois', pp. 2, 12, 188. The elements of the compound are *samo-*, Irish *sám*, *sáme*, 'rest, tranquillity,' *sáim*, 'quiet, mild': *săm*, 'summer,' is probably related, and Welsh *haf*, 'summer,' whence an adjective *hafeiđ*, now *hafaiđ*, 'summerly, tractable.' The other element is *talo-*, Welsh *tal*, made in Mod. Welsh into *tàl*, 'forehead.' The Irish is attested only as *tul* or *taul*, 'forehead,' but *talcen*, the Mod. Welsh for 'forehead', seems borrowed from an earlier Irish *tal cinn*, which occurs as *tul cind*, 'end or front of the head, forehead': see Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 299 ('Fled Bricrend', § 88).

(2) aYOYΩTιKNOC, *Avvoticnos*. By far the most usual vowel preceding the termination *-cno-s* was *i*, but *u* also occurs as in CIAOYKNOC (p. 11 above), *Taranu-cno-s*, 'son of Thunder,' from Ταρανου-ς (not from the kindred name *Taranucus*), the god

Taranucnos being regarded as son of the divinity named *Taranus* of the *u* declension: see also p. 16, where *-a-κνος* has been suggested. The vowel preceding *-cno-* was the one ending the stem of the simpler noun; but *i* became a favourite, and appears to have been brought in where it had no etymological right to come. Here, however, this need not delay us, since *i* was the vowel ending the stem *avvoti-*, from which *avvoticnos* was formed regularly. The next question is how *avvoticnos* is to be explained. Two conjectures offer themselves: the first is, that *avvotis* was here used as a proper name, just as we have such names as Lord, Prince, King. The other is that *avvoticnos* did not mean that Samotalos was son of a man named Avvotis, but that the word gave his rank as that of the son of a proprietor or lord. We have analogy for this in the inscriptions of the Goidels in Britain: thus *tigernacos*, 'princely, lordly,' is found denoting rank in a Pembrokeshire bilingual epitaph (Holder, s.v. *Tigernacus*); also *filius tigernacus* (*Cymmrodor*, XVIII, p. 49) and *Maqveriqi* (genitive), 'of a king's son, of princely rank.' This last was in Irish *mac ríg*; but the other *filius Tigernacus* must, in its Irish garb of *mac tigirn*, have had wide acceptance, as we trace to it the Welsh *mechdeyrn*, *mychdeyrn*, 'monarch, ruler,' Cornish *mychtern*, 'a lord, a sovereign,' and Breton *machtiern*: the Latin plural is entered in De Courson's index to his 'Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Redon' thus: 'Machtierni, Tiarni, Tyranni,' and 'Machtierni vel principes plebium et parochiarum'. On these lines it would be reasonable to interpret *avvoticnos* as meaning 'the son of an *avvotis*, one of the rank of an *avvotis*', a word which, as we said, was likely to have signified lord or head. This derives support from the fact that the monument is of unusual pretensions for one in a Celtic language.

(3) CECIa, CECIs, *Sesia*, *Sesis*. CECIA would be the feminine of CECIOC, which is cited by Holder from Rome as *Sessius* in Latin (*C. I. L.*, XV. 420). He quotes Sessis from Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, who lived from 473 till 521; but he only uses it as the name of a tributary stream of the Po, now called *Sesia*, near Vercelli in Piedmont: another form of the latter name Holder gives as *Sesites*.

(4) κΛΛΜΑΚι, κΛΛΜΑΚι, *Clamaci*, *Calmaci*. Holder cites *Villam Clamiciacum* as the old name of Clamecy in the Department of Nièvre. *Clamici* comes very near the *Clamaci* which is favoured by the reading of the second line of this inscription. If instead of κλα we read καλ we should have ΚΑΛΜΑΚΙ, genitive of ΚΑΛΜΑΚΙΟS, which Holder finds imbedded in *Calmaci-acus*, whence the modern name of Chaumuzy, borne by a place near Rheims. *Calmac-* would be of the same origin as Irish *calma*, 'valiant, brave,' from an early

calmio-, which Brythonic, treating as *calmiio-*, has made into *celfyđ*, 'ingenious, artistic,' Breton *kalvez*, 'a carpenter': compare Welsh *celficyn*, 'a small article of furniture.' We have possibly to fall back on a shorter genitive ΚΛΑΜΑι or ΚΛΑΜΑι like *Eccaios* and the other instances collected by Holder under *-aio-s*, to which may be added the genitive *Oxtai* occurring in one of the Moritasgus inscriptions to be mentioned presently. It looks, however, as if a longer genitive like ΚΛΑΜΑΚΙ would fit the space occupied by the name somewhat better.

(5) ΓΑΡΜΑ, *Garma*. The probable explanation of this name is that it is a levelling of *Gorma*, of the same origin as Modern Irish *gorm*, 'blue.' Stokes in his Fick volume, p. 114, has two words *gorm*, one from *gormo-s*, 'warm, roth,' and the other from *gorsmo-s*, 'dunkel,' but they seem to me to be one and the same word with a curious variation of meaning. The Welsh is *gwrm*, 'dun, dusky, of a dark brown colour'; but I take it that neither the Irish nor the Welsh was originally the name for any special colour. This is corroborated by a gloss of O'Davoren—'Gorm .i. *urdairc*': see Stokes's *Three Irish Glossaries*, p. 94. *Urdairc* means 'splendid, illustrious, glorious', and the lady whose name has here been guessed to have been *Sesia* or *Sesis* may have had an epithet with some such signification.

(6) ΒΙΡΑΚΟΤΩΥ is the dative of ΒΙΡΑΚΟΤΟΥϹ, *Biracotus*, of the *u* declension, a compound which analyses itself into *Bira-cotu-s*. The qualifying element *bira* is of the same origin as Irish *bir*, *biur*, Mod. Ir. *bior*, genitive *bero*, *bera*, 'a spit, a lance point, a spike,' Welsh *ber*, 'a spear, a lance, or pike; a spit for roasting meat; a skewer or stake.' The related Latin form is *veru*, 'a spit or stake,' which suggests that both the Irish and the Welsh were originally neuter of the *u* declension, like Latin *veru*, a fact attested in the case of the Irish word, though both are now masculine: see Hogan's *Irish Neuter Substantives* in the 'Todd Lecture Series', IV. 206. The other element is *Cotu-s* of the *u* declension, and possibly to be identified with Caesar's *Cotus* which is treated as of the *o* declension; but this does not prove that it was not of the *u* declension in the Celtic of the Aedui. That it was so is suggested by the probably related form *Cotu-atus*, the name of a leader of the Carnutes, also mentioned by Caesar: see Meusel's edition of the *De Bello Gallico*, vii. 3, 39. The Indo-European root seems to have been *kuth*, whence in Teutonic *hud*, related possibly to Greek κεύθω, 'I hide': see Kluge, s.v. *Hütte*. The Welsh is represented by *cot*, *cod*, and *cwd*, 'a bag or sack.' So *Bira-cotu-s* may be inferred to have meant 'a hiding or heeding with a spear', more generally speaking of 'one who

is a protection effected by means of the spear'. Names of the *u* declension, be it noticed, may be masculine or feminine: this is probably masculine.

(7) TIC . . . . ANNΩ. This represents the dative singular masculine of a name ending in the nominative in ANNOC. The second element might be ΔANNO-C which is suggested to me by the *danno-* of Danno-talis, p. 30 above, but it might just as well be BANNO-C: in fact this will be found to be the more probable of the two. Among the related forms cited by Holder may be mentioned *Banna*, and the place-names *Bannaciacus*, *Bannaventa*, *Bannolus*, *Bannovallum*, and others. The meaning may possibly be akin to that of Irish *bann*, 'law,' *for-bann*, 'command,' from *banno-*, 'a ban, interdict, prohibition': see Stokes in Fick's book, II, p.159, and d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, II^{ii}. 335. The first element in the compound reads TI followed by traces of a letter which seems to have been C. The whole of it may have been TICA of the same origin as the *Tisios*, *Tisia*, *Tisiacus* and the like cited by Holder, but hardly, perhaps, to be severed from others that he gives such as *Tessius* (*Teððius*), *Tessillus* (*Teððillos*), *Tessilla*, f. *Tessignius* (*Teððicnius*). These suggest that *tess-* represents an early *tens-* to be traced in the Latin *tensu-s*, *tensu-m*, *tensā*, 'stretched out, drawn tight, strained, tense,' Gothic *-þinsan*, O.H. German *dinsan*, 'to draw or pull,' Lithuanian *tę̃s-ti*, 'to draw or stretch.' Should these surmises prove well founded, Τισα-βαννο-ς may have meant 'one who strictly observed the prohibitions affecting him, one who carefully avoided the ill-luck of violating his *gessa* or taboos': a man's *gessa* play an important part in old Irish tales. However, the exact signification of these proper names is of no great consequence here; one is more troubled by the inability to decide whether the space required some such spelling as Τισσαβαννω, Τισιαβαννω, or the like, rather than Τισαβαννω, to which I give the preference.

(8) KOBPITOYΛΩY is the dative of Κοβριτουλου-ς, *Cobritulu-s* of the *u* declension. The first element is κοβρι-, in O. Irish *cobir*, Modern Ir. *cobhair*, *cabhair*, fem. 'help, assistance, support': see the *Gram. Celtica*, p. 781, and Stokes's Fick volume, p. 169. When the first element in such a name as that in question here means protection or safety one naturally looks to the second element to convey the idea of bearer or bringer, as in the case of such Greek names as Ονησί-φορο-ς, Ελπιδό-φορο-ς, Καρπό-φορο-ς and the like. So the τουλου-ς of the Celtic compound may be taken as meaning bringer or bearer, and the compound *Cobri-tulu-s* may be rendered 'Aid-bringer'. The vocable *tul-* of the same origin as Latin *tul* (as perfect of *fero*) occurs in several Irish per-

sonal names, such as the following, to be met with in the pedigrees in the Book of Leinster—*Tulach*, fo. 368^{c}; *Tuladrain* (genitive), f. 357^{f}; *Tolaing* (genitive), f. 317^{c}; *Tola*, f. 350^{f}, gen. *Tola*, f. 350^{b}, and *Tolai*, f. 358^{b}; *Tuli latha*, f. 355^{f}; *Tolaid*[1] (gen.), f. 331^{b}, 332^{b}. Among these we seem to have an inverted compound parallel to *Cobri-tulu-s* in *Tolang*, gen. *Tolaing*, in the tribal designation *Húi Mœláin Tolaing*, 'the descendants of Mælán, the bringer of protection or safety,' where *aing* is to be interpreted by means of the verb *angim*, *aingim*, 'I protect,' which Thurneysen would refer to some such theme as *aneg-* (*Handbuch*, p. 331). Lastly, I should guess Κοβριτουλους to have been a woman's name. Compare *Cartimandus*, already mentioned (p. 29), which appears to have been the Celtic name of the Brigantian queen. A woman's name in *-us* must, however, have struck a Roman as somewhat strange, and she seems to have been provided with an alternative one which sounded feminine enough. This was *Cartimandua*, derived from *Cartimandu-s*. See Mr. Furneaux's edition of the *Annals of Tacitus*, xii. 36 (II, p. 259, note).

(9) Now should come a word ending with B as an abbreviation of the dative plural of an ancient vocable meaning children. The search for it brings me back to the question of the small fragments with letters or portions of letters on them. Commandant Espérandieu sketches three of them in his article in the journal *Pro Alesia* (Nos. 3 and 4), p. 45. For the student's convenience and with the Commandant's kind permission, these are embodied in photograph 9 *f*. The first of them is used by M. de Ricci to finish TAΛOC in the first line; and to explain how he does it I give his sketch of the whole inscription in photograph 9 *d*, which shows also, in the left margin, how he reads the small fragment, which is second in the Commandant's description. Lastly, besides these three bits we seem to have one at least figuring above the KNOC fragment in photograph 9 *c*. It appears also in a sketch of the whole front of the monument given me by M. Louis Matruchot, the editor of *Pro Alesia*. That sketch is here reproduced as photograph 9 *e*. The sketches by M. de Ricci and M. Matruchot were not intended for publication, but they are so instructive at different points that I have taken the liberty of putting them into a permanent form. I have not seen any of the small fragments in question,

[1] According to Stokes and Strachan's *Thesaurus*, II. 267, this is read *Tolit* in the Book of Armagh (fo. 13^{a} 2) by Gwynn, but they have printed 'Cuil *Tolat*'. In the Book of the Dun (fo. 52^{b}) it is 'Cúil *Tulad* (? Talad'), and Hogan's *Onomasticon* has, besides the other forms, those of 'C. Thalaith' and 'C. Toladh', after the Four Masters who also have Cúil Toladh (A.M. 3303). The genuine forms were possibly *Tolat*, genitive *Tol(a)it* for early *Tulanto-s*, gen. *Tulanti*.

and M. Matruchot states that he does not know what became of them.

Even if we could handle the small pieces it would probably be hard to fit them into their places, but the two with letters belonging to two different lines can only go into the name beginning with TIC in the third line, and to the abbreviated word ending with B in the line underneath. Let us first take the reading approximately adopted by the Commandant and M. de Ricci of the bit[1] with three letters $\overset{A}{BA}$ or $\overset{A}{B\Lambda}$ and add it to TIC. We then have $\overset{TICA}{B\overset{A}{\Lambda}}$. In the next place let us add on from photographs 9 *c*, 9 *e*, what M. Matruchot reads as a P with what I should treat as the lower portion of a B standing above it: the trial group would then look as follows:—

TICABANNω
$B\overset{A}{\Lambda}P$ B:

This, however, admits of simplification, since the letter between B and P cannot be a consonant; so Λ is eliminated in favour of A, and the result stands thus:—

TICABANNω
BAP B:

It remains for us to fill the gap in the lower line. As what we are looking for is the dative plural of a word meaning offspring, children, the BAP at which we have automatically arrived reminds us of the Aryan root *bher* represented in Latin by *fero*, 'I bear,' and *fors*, *forte*, 'chance,' English *bear* and *birth*, Irish *beraim*, 'I bear,' and *breith*, 'birth,' Welsh *cymer*, 'take,' for *com-ber*: I refer to Stokes's articles on *berô* and its derivatives (Fick, ii, pp. 169, 170). One of them is in fact just what is wanted here, namely, *bṛtí-s*, 'tragen, Geburt.' In Irish it yields *breith*, *brith*, the verbal noun corresponding to *beraim*, 'I bear,' and meaning the act of bearing, birth; in Welsh *bryd* in *edfryd*, *edryd* (for *ate-bṛti-s*), 'bearing back,' in the sense of 'restoring', and *cymryd* (from *com-brit*), 'the act of accepting, in the sense of bearing away with you, of taking to yourself.' The letters, therefore, to be inserted seem to be TI, which receive some confirmation in the bit which shows a part of the perpendicular of such a letter as T or I: see M. de Ricci's sketch and photograph 9 *f*. We arrive thus at a form BAPTIB, and extend the abbreviation into BAPTIBO or BAPTIBOC, corresponding to what might be in Latin *fortibus* from *fors*, 'chance,' though differing widely in sense. The

[1] The Commandant refers it to lines 2 and 3, but I take that to be a slip: it can only belong to lines 3 and 4.

spelling *ar* representing a stage in the pronunciation of what philologists write *ȝ*, cannot be reckoned a difficulty, as we are ignorant of the exact nature and history of the sound to which they apply that symbol suggested by Sanskrit analogy. With regard to the signification we may here mention, that in O. Norse this word was *burð-r* and that it signified not only birth but also embryo and what is born, as does also the etymological equivalent, *birth*, in English: see the *New English Dictionary*, s.v. We are not without evidence of the analogous transition of sense from the abstract to the concrete in the case of the Celtic equivalents. *Ed-fryd* in its reduced form of *ed-ryd* (plural *edrydau*) meant not only the act of restoring, but also, in direct reference to bearing and birth, that which is born; for it is found used by the poets to signify stock, family, or as Dr. Davies puts it, 'genus, prosapia, cognatio.' In short, whether we consider the form or the signification, we appear to be at liberty to assume the possibility of a dative plural *bartibo(s)* used in reference to offspring.

(10) ΑΤΝΟΔΩ. This I take to be a contraction of an earlier ατε-νοδω, possibly ατε-σνοδω, the root being *nod* or *snod*, yielding in Welsh the word *nod̄*, 'the juice of a vegetable, the sap of a tree,' Irish *snódhach*, given in O'Reilly's *Dictionary* probably for a more correct *snodhach* (with a short *o*), meaning 'sap or juice'. Modern Welsh has also a plural *adnoddau* signifying 'resources', suggested possibly by that word. Here we have *ad* representing the ancient prefix *ate* which has approximately the same meaning as Latin prefix *re*. But the meaning I should be inclined to ascribe to the ατνοδω of our inscription would be the adverbial one 'with the shedding of tears, with weeping, tearfully, mournfully'.

In trying to get the readings suggested to fit to scale there are two or three things to be noticed. Between Σαμοταλος and Ανουωτικνος there was probably the colon stop: as there may have been also between Σεσια and Κλαμακι, whereas it seems to have been absent between Βιρακοτων and Τι . . . . It was probably also absent after Κοβριτουλων, the other word ending with ων. On that supposition it seems possible to get the required letters in, but even then there will be no room to spare. The first fragment in photographs 12 and 13 requires to be pushed up close to the large compound fragment on its right, so that the split letters, to wit, Α in line 3 and Β in line 4, may be closed as far as the damaged edges will help to show how they fitted. The ΥΟΥΩ piece must not be pushed quite close to the large fragment: room must be left in the first line for : Α, and further on for the missing half of the Τ of Ανουωτικνος,

the whole of the I and the vertical portion of the K, the rest of which appears on the last or KNOC fragment. The pieces should be brought together with due regard to these details in so far, at any rate, as the cementing does not force them out of scale. Then another good photograph should be taken of the whole, and copies of it should be distributed among the Celtic scholars most likely to make use of them. In this way we should soon have the uncertainties of the reading reduced within their narrowest limits. When I visited the temporary museum at Alise I had forgotten to procure permission to scrutinize the inscribed fragments: they were inside a wire enclosure, and I looked at them from the floor. Last April I sought the permission of Dr. Adrien Simon, president of the Semur Society, to examine the inscription more closely, and thanks to him I received all assistance possible, which I take this opportunity of cordially acknowledging.

These notes on the inscription may be conveniently summarized here and preceded by the text which they appear to imply, as follows:—

CAMOTAΛOC : αYOYΩTιKNO C | ΔΩ
CECIα : κΛAMAKι : ΓAPMA
BIPAKOTΩY TICABANNΩ
KOBPITOYΛΩYBAPTιB : ATNO

That is, freely rendered into English:—

Samotalos son of Avvōtis (and)
Sesia Garma, daughter of Clamacios,
tearfully (set up this monument) to
their children Biracotus, Tisabannos,
(and) Cobritulus.

4. Soon after my visit to Alise in 1909 Commandant Espérandieu and Dr. Epery favoured me with copies of a photograph showing a score of small objects which they had discovered on Mont-Auxois in the course of their diggings there. Among them are two pieces of lead with writing of the graffito kind on them both, in the Greek alphabet: I had a look at them last April. The bigger one measures four centimetres long by rather more than one centimetre broad and it reads KAPOMAPO. The end of the lead is very jagged, and there is nothing left to show whether or not the name had a final C. Elsewhere it occurs in Latin as CAROMARVS stamped alone on a vessel in the museum at Mannheim, but on others with *F* (for *fecit*) appended, to wit, in the Mainz Museum: for further instances see *C. I. L.*, XIII. iii. No. 10010. 461 (p. 174). The name analyses itself

into *Caro-maro-s*, with *caro-* of the same origin as the Latin *cārus* and the second part of *Su-caru-s* (ibid., 10010. 2408, p. 405), Welsh *hy-gar*, 'dear, beloved,' O. Breton *-ho-car*. The other element is the familiar one of *māro-s*, 'great.' Even so it is not quite certain what the compound exactly meant: it may have signified 'a great one who is beloved'. Possibly it meant simply 'greatly beloved'.

5. The other bit of lead is very small, and Dr. Epery suggested the reading ƆYIΓPA, where he would regard the first character as part of an O. We should accordingly have OYI, which reminds one of the dative termination of certain names of the *o* declension. I am not quite certain that what figures here as Γ is not a B imperfect at the bottom. That would recall the Βρατονδε formula of the South. Were that reading certain we should be warranted in drawing some important conclusions from it; but, as it is, we cannot do anything of the kind. Both bits of lead are represented in photographs 10, 11. We may guess that the inscription is part of a humble *ex-voto* from a temple sacred to the god Moritasgos.

*** Two Latin inscriptions found by the same gentlemen, for copies of which I am indebted to Dr. Epery, equate the god with Apollo: the first, on a stone carved to represent a person's thigh and knee, runs as follows: see photograph 12, for which I have to thank Commandant Espérandieu:—

AVG SAC
DEO APOLLINI
MORITASGO
CATIANVS
OXTAI

Here the O of DEO, of APOLLINI, the final O of MORITASGO, and the initial O of OXTAI are a modification of omega. See the second Genouilly epitaph, p. 55 below. Whether the same peculiarity is to be traced in the next *ex-voto* I cannot tell. Dr. Epery reads it as follows:—

AVG SAC
APOLLINI
MORITASGo . . . . AVIVS · ALI
DIOFANES . . . . ER · LIB · P ·

Perhaps Moritasgos was also named in a more fragmentary inscription, which the same gentleman had brought to light some time previously on the handle of a patera, reading as follows:—

. . . . . SAC DEO APPOL
. . . . . CVS POSVIT

THE MONT-AUXOIS INSCRIPTIONS—SAMOTALOS

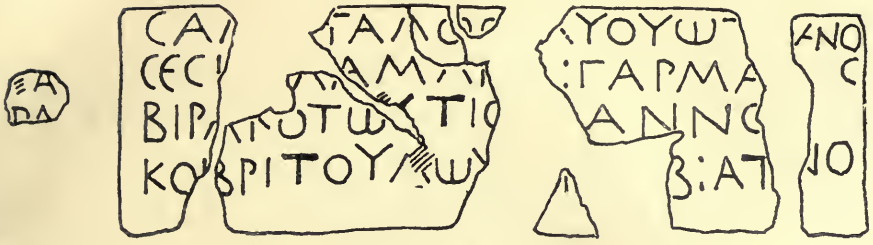

PHOTO. 9*d*

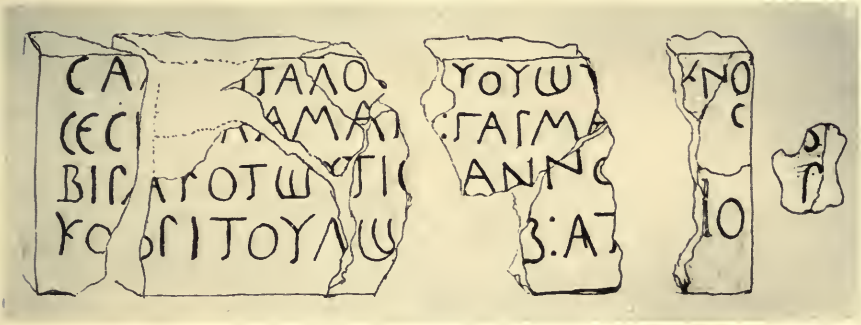

PHOTO. 9*e*

THE MORITASGOS EX-VOTO

1 2 3

PHOTO. 9*f*

ON TWO PIECES OF LEAD

PHOTO. 10, 11

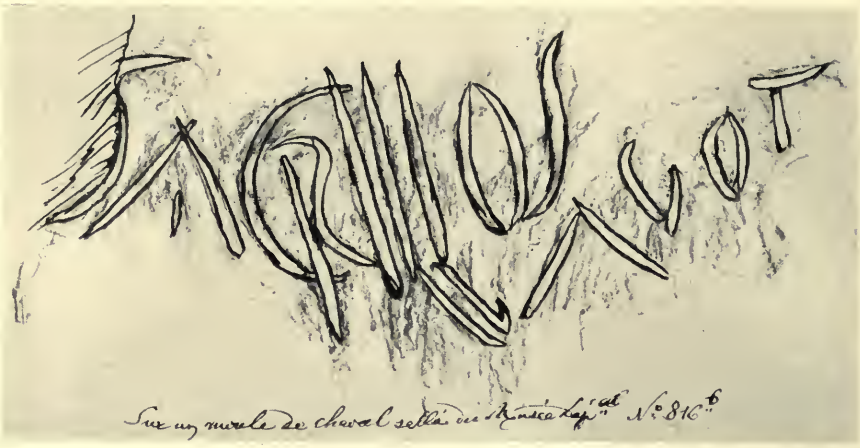

Photo. 13

Photo. 14

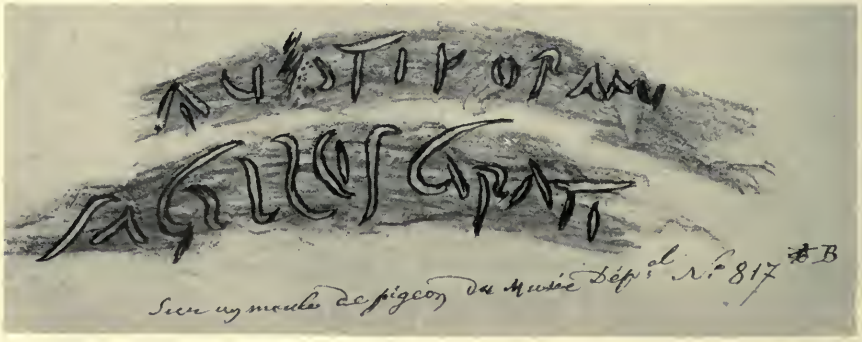

Photo. 15

For this see Com. Espérandieu's *Fouilles de la Croix Saint-Charles au Mont-Auxois: Premier Rapport* (Dijon, Jobard, 1910), p. [277]. See also Holder, s. v. *Mori-tasgus*, where another important inscription is given, the only one then known to mention that god. *Moritasgos* was evidently the Apollo of ancient Alesia, in the character of the repeller of diseases, as Caesar describes him. The *tasgo-s* of his name is to be compared with the *Tasgia* mentioned at p. 27 above; but what are we to make of *mori*, which would seem to suggest the sea? It is likely to prove of the same origin with the *mor-* of *Morrígain*, which Stokes (Fick, 211) took to have meant 'elf-queen', and to have only been distorted by popular etymology into *mór-rígain*, 'great queen'. The element *mor-* equates with *mare* in English *nightmare*, French *cauchemar*, and German *Mahr*; also with O. Bulgarian *mora*, 'a witch.' In that case one might guess that *Mori-tasgo-s* meant a repeller or queller of elves and witches, that is to say, of the evil powers supposed to cause disease, blights, and baleful blasts, and to be routed, according to Irish story, by Lug: see my *Notes on the Coligny Calendar*, pp. 17, 36. In fact, *Moritasgos* may only have been a local name of the god Lug in the capacity of healer of sundry diseases of the human body.

IV

1, 1. In August, 1909, I visited the museum at Bourges, and saw the inscribed stone from Genouilly (Cher), mentioned in my paper on the *Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy*, p. 54: see *C. I. L.*, XIII. 1326. What we have on it consists, strictly speaking, of two inscriptions belonging presumably to persons of one and the same family. The stone is a slab 1^{m} 60 high by 0^{m} 52 or more in the widest part. Unfortunately a considerable piece of it is gone from the left top corner, carrying with it the beginning of the two first lines of the first epitaph, which reads as it stands:—

. . . . . OS · VIRIƎIOS
. . . . . TOC · OYIPIΛΛIO

ANƐOYNOC
ƐΠOƐI

Before TOC the *Corpus* has a short horizontal line, but I failed to notice anything before OS or TOC; in fact, the left side of the first O is gone in the first line; and the French antiquary, M. de Laugardière, to whom the *Corpus* refers the reader, seems to have found no more of this line; and both OS and TOC appear to have been

followed by a point or stop. A feature of the L in the first line has been overlooked in the *Corpus*: it has two horizontal bars at the bottom, so that it looks rather like an F upside down, that is to say, it stands for LL, a conclusion favoured by the next line with its ΛΛ. On the other hand, one would have expected OYIPIΛΛIO to have had a C at the end: in any case the inscriber had left himself no room for it. Enough of the first two lines is left to dispose me to think that they consisted of the Celtic name of one and the same person, given in Latin letters and in Greek ones, both times in the nominative, and meaning 'So-and-so, son of Virillos'. Then comes, at a larger distance from the second line, the name of the man who erected or prepared the monument, and that not only in the Greek alphabet, but also in the Greek language. The spelling of the verb does not seem so much to argue carelessness in copying ἐποίει, as the wish to give the phonetic spelling, ἐπόει, at a period when ει was already pronounced ι: the result was, at any rate, to give us what appears to have been the correct Attic spelling of the word.

The name Aνεουνος enters into the longer name *Otuaneuni*, genitive of *Otuaneunos*, which is found on the triumphal arch at Saintes (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 1036). The former probably analyses itself into Av-εουνο-s, where *av-* is presumably the intensive particle: so the compound would mean 'very εουνος', but what did εουνος mean? Holder has collected words ending in *-uno-*, *-unā*, but the *u*, in stems regularly formed, belongs to the stem, and this is the case here; we may therefore divide the word into *Eu-no-s*, which occurs as a man's name, *Eunus*, in an inscription to be seen at Bourges, already mentioned (p. 30 above), and has a derivative *Eunius* cited by Holder. Thus the stem would be *eu*, which I regard as standing for an earlier *ehu* from *esu*, that is to say from the name of the god Esu-s. In that case *An-euno-s* would mean 'partaking greatly of the nature of Esus, very like Esus'. Compare for the treatment of vowel-flanked *s* such parallels as Holder's *Esuggiu-s* and *Eugiu-rix*, where we have the same element *E(s)ugiu-*; also *Ucueti-s* from *Ud-guheti-* = *Ud-guseti-* (p. 31 above, also *Celt. Inscriptions*, p. 7), and *Suiōrebe* for **Suihōrebe* = **Suisōrebe*, 'to two sisters' (ibid., p. 53).

The disjointed syntax of this epitaph is emphasized by more space being left between lines 2 and 3 than between 1 and 2 or 3 and 4. In Latin epitaphs, moreover, we are usually informed as to the relationship between the person who has the monument erected and him whose memory it is to commemorate. Here we have no clue, but it is reasonable to suppose that Aneunos was of the same family as Virillos.

THE GENOUILLY TOMBSTONES (CHER)

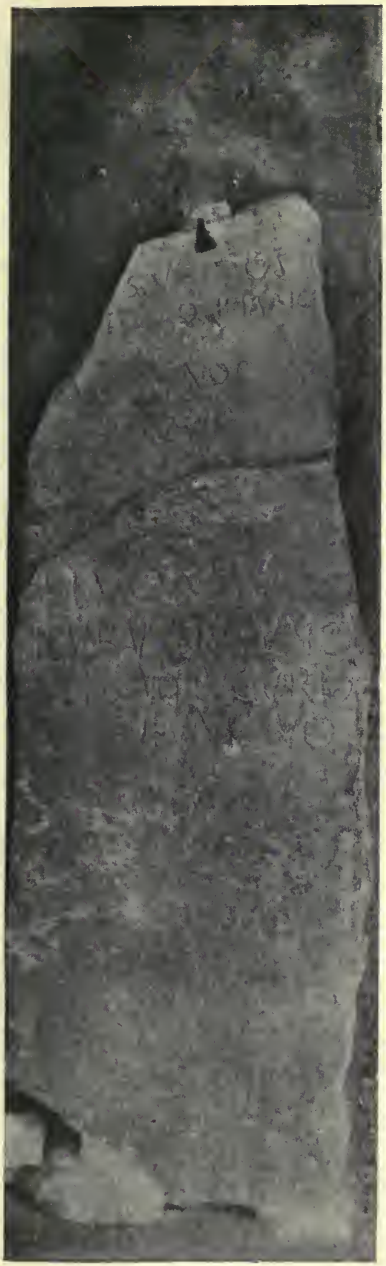

PHOTO. 16*a*, 16*b*

PHOTO. 17

1, 2. Some eight inches lower on the stone, but on a higher layer of the surface, we have the other inscription, which reads as follows—the letters are Latin, but the language is Celtic, probably Gaulish:—

ELVONTIV
IEVRV ▿ ANEVNΩ
OCLICNΩ ▿ LVGVRI ▿
ANEVNICNΩ

Here are several things to be noticed: for instance, I found what I took to be marks of interpunction: the one occurring after IEVRV is the only one given in the *Corpus*, but I thought I detected a similar one between the two words forming the third line, and another of a somewhat different shape at the end of that line. All these consist of diminutive triangles; but there is a point in the Ω at the end of the second line which may also have been meant as a part of the interpunction, though it is more likely to have been merely ornamental. In that capacity the point occurs often enough: see p. 11 above, where C also was found provided with it. In the next place it is to be noticed that the Ω in question is not the ordinary Latin O, but a form of the Greek omega resembling an O on a horizontal line, Ω, which was doubtless derived from Ω by making the straight lines continuous, a very natural simplification which is known to occur often enough in somewhat late Greek documents: so I learn from one of my Oxford colleagues, who is a distinguished Greek scholar. In the case of the omega at the end of OCLICNΩ, the horizontal line has been produced as a sort of tangent towards the left until it touches the bottom of the N preceding it. The one at the end of the last patronymic is more carelessly formed and looks almost like a Δ with its two sides consisting of arcs of a circle. The minuscule omega is used four times in the spelling of Celtic names in the Samotalos inscription at Alise, and in one instance it occurs for the long *o* ending the dative singular of a noun of the *o* declension, as in the three instances here in question: see p. 49 above. What is remarkable is that the Greek character should have been retained in epitaphs which are otherwise in Latin letters. It seems to prove two things, that the length of the final vowel of the dative was well marked in the Gaulish pronunciation of the time implied, and that the influence of the Greek alphabet among the Celts of Gaul had been by no means of brief duration.

The name Elvontiu is obscure, but it is probably a nominative of the *n*-declension. The patronymic *Oclicno-s* is derived from *Ocli-s*, or else *Oclo-s*, just as *Anevnicno-s* is seen to be from *Anevno-s*, but neither *Ocli-s* nor *Oclo-s* is other than obscure. If I could feel sure

that I have read C instead of G I should compare the following inscription :—

OGL · AVG · SAC
ATEVRITVS
SEPLAS · V · S · L · M.

M. de Ricci found this on a small bronze pedestal supposed to come from the vicinity of Rheims: see the *Revue Celtique*, xxx. 268, 269, and plate. *Luguri* would seem to be a derivative from the name of the god *Lugu-s*, Irish *Lug*, genitive *Logo*: see my *Notes on the Coligny Calendar*, pp. 24–30 and *passim*. Compare *Rivos* (an alias for *Lugus*) and *Rivros*, the name of the Rivos month, to wit, August, probably for *Rivo-ro-s*. In any case *Luguri* must have been the dative of **Luguri-s* of the *i* declension. This seems to be involved in the Irish tribe-name of Cinél *Lugair*, to which belonged the head poet or *file* of Ireland in St. Patrick's time, Dubthach maccu *Lugir*, one of the Saint's most famous converts. The genitive occurs mostly as *Lugair*, but the Book of Armagh has also *Lugir*: see Stokes and Strachan's *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, II, p. 267, where we have *subulcus Lugir*, and p. 260, where we have Dubthoch maccu *Lugil*, with *Lugil* carelessly written for *Lugir*, and *Dubthoch* correctly given as a more ancient form than the more usual *Dubthach*. Witness the Latin genitive *Dobituci* and its Ogmic equivalent, *Dovatuceas* (of the *i* declension), at Clydai in Pembrokeshire; in Welsh it is *Dyfodwg*. To return to *Lugair*, the editors of the *Thesaurus* give the nominative as *Lugar*: the nominative, however, seldom occurs, but Stokes's *Gorman*, May 11, has *Lugair Lobor*, 'Lugair the Infirm,' in the nominative, and the Book of Leinster (f. 315°) has in the nominative *in file Lugair*, 'the *file* Lugair.' Nominative *Lugair*, with genitive *Lugair*, argues a stem of the *ī* declension, inflected somewhat like the Irish feminine *inis*, 'island,' genitive *inis*. The name occurs also on a piece of black pottery at Saint-Germain, but unfortunately it breaks off short of the case ending, and only reads ΛOYΓOYP: see *C. I. L.*, XIII. iii. 10017. 77 (p. 489). One word remains to be mentioned, and that is IEVRV, which I equate approximately with the ΕΠΟΕΙ of the Greek portion of the other inscription. The rendering of the whole runs thus: 'Elvontiu made (it) for Aneunos son of Oclos (and) for Luguris son of Aneunos.'

M. de Laugardière's suggestive description of the stone is to be found (accompanied with a drawing) in the *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques* for 1894, pp. 127–37 (plate ix). I had not seen it when I visited Bourges,

so I wish to indicate some of the differences between his readings and what I have given above from the notes I made at the time. His account of the L in the first line runs thus: 'Il est à remarquer que, dans l'inscription, la haste de la lettre L paraît être un peu plus haute que le sommet des lettres voisines, ce qui me peut porter à penser que l'intention du graveur était de lui donner une valeur double,' &c. He seems to have written that from an inexact recollection of the lettering. On the final O of the second line he places the horns of a Y, which, according to my reading, would perhaps make OY, and imply a nominative in *-ovs*. In both lines I thought that I detected a stop. Lastly, he suggests restoring the first name in the first line as [OCL]OS, and the first in the second line as [ATЄΞ]TOC, which seems to imply that the inscriber cut Ξ instead of X. I may mention that M. de Laugardière writes that 'les O sont en général sensiblement plus petits que les autres caractères', which is probably true as to the actual height of the O in these inscriptions, but their smaliness here is not so conspicuous as to attract immediate attention, as frequently happens in other instances. Lastly, his paper would suggest, that some mishap had overtaken my note on the distances between the lines of the first of the inscriptions; for I jotted down that the distance between lines 1 and 2 is only one-half or one-third of the distance between lines 2 and 3; but this is corroborated by M. de Laugardière's own plate.

2. In the same paper M. de Laugardière has described another inscribed stone found at Genouilly: it is of the same material, and he gives the dimensions as 1^{m} 29 by 0^{m} 27 wide at the level of the writing, which consists of only a single word—RVONTV. It is possible that there was a letter or two preceding the R, but I could not find anything there; and as to the T, that letter is peculiarly formed with the top stroke tilted up behind; I was not able to make it out to be any other letter. Taking RVONTV as the entire inscription, I would suggest explaining the name as standing for an earlier *o* stem, *Rugonto-*, with the soft vowel-flanked *g* elided just as in the TIO of the Coligny Calendar, for *tigos*, 'house, temple.' Compare the instances of elision of *g* collected by Holder, I. 1503, 1504, including such as 'deo *Mounti*' for *Mogonti*, 'dis *Mountibus*' for *Mogontibus*, 'deo *Mouno*' for 'Apollini *Mogouno*', not to mention *Latio-ma(g)us*, *Ri(g)oma(g)us*, and (Gregory of Tours') *Mantolomaus*, *Montalomago*, and other instances of the same kind: see also p. 64 below. We have the element *rug* in a name *Caturugi* (genitive of a *Catu-rugio-s* or *Catu-rugo-s*) in Latin letters on a stone at Merthyr Mynach in Carmarthenshire. We may possibly have the shorter

forms in *Ruga* and *Rugus* cited by Holder. The Neo-Celtic words related are Welsh *rhu-o*, 'to roar, also to bluster,' Irish *rucht*, *ruchd*, 'a great shout, clamour,' *rucht miled*, 'a soldier's cry,' used of a far-reaching shout for help uttered by Cúchulainn when overpowered by his foes, also of the sound of the sword in use (Windisch's *Táin Bó Cualnge*, 2960, 5583), Manx Gaelic *roogh*, 'to bellow, to roar.' The Welsh *rhu-o* and kindred forms would seem to indicate that *rug-* was *rūg*, which rather militates against the conjecture that the Welsh word is a loan from Latin *rŭgīre*, 'to roar,' for the *ŭ* of which compare ἐρῦγή, 'a bellowing' (Hesychius) and the Homeric ἐρυγόντα, 'bellowing,' together with other cognates: see Walde. The meaning of *Catu-rug-i* would seem to have been 'one who is loud in the conflict, a battle roarer,' and that of *Ruontos* cannot have been very different. *Ruonto-s* is a species of participial formation to be compared with **Anaganto-s* (in Irish *Anagat*), *Caranto-s*, *Decantae*, and the like (*Notes on the Coligny Calendar*, pp. 14 n., 60 n.), but it shows the same conjugational vowel *o* as *Nodons*, dative *Nodont-i*, in the name of the god Latinized *Nodens*, genitive *Nodentis* (ibid., p. 50, *Celtic Folklore*, p. 446). *Ruontu*, with its final *u*, is the dative, and this brief epitaph means 'To Ruontos, or to the memory of Ruontos'.

When I visited Bourges I was met by M. P. Gauchery, engineer and architect from Vierzon (Cher), who kindly vouchsafed me information as to the bibliography of the inscriptions found at Genouilly, and notes of his own as to the locality of the finds. The latter were of such interest that I asked him to be so good as to send them to me in writing at his leisure: he did so in 1909, and I venture to have them printed here:—

'La commune où ont été découvertes ces stèles se nomme Genouilly; elle est à 15 kilomètres à l'ouest de Vierzon. Le mouton, motton (petite motte) est une petite éminence à l'ouest de Genouilly. C'est sur les flancs de cette motte qu'on a decouvert ces stèles — au sommet de cette éminence déserte se trouve une sorte de fortin. C'est un ouvrage en terre sans aucune maçonnerie. Il est rectangulaire et sensiblement déprimé à son sommet. Les fossés sont à sec, ils ont 8^{m} 00 de large. La hauteur verticale du parapet au-dessus du fond du fossé atteint à peu près 4^{m} 00; la dépression intérieure est de 13 mètres carrés. Le circuit extérieur est de 38^{m} sur 32^{m}.

Comme il n'y a pas de vestiges de maçonnerie (quoique la pierre ne manque pas en cet endroit), on peut supposer que le fortin était en bois comme étaient beaucoup d'ouvrages anciens dans nos contrées, notamment les mottes normandes qui ont été reconnues sur les bords du Cher. Mais ici le *mouton*, qui est une éminence naturelle au-dessus de la plaine, est distant de 7 kilomètres au sud de la rivière du Cher.

Le sous-sol de cette éminence est constitué par des grès crétacés de l'étage cénomanien. C'est une sorte de grès à pavés qui se divise en tables d'épaisseurs variables, les stèles en proviennent. C'est en voulant utiliser ces pierres pour

l'empierrement des routes que les ouvriers ont cru remarquer des inscriptions sur ces pierres brutes.

Au dedans, comme au dehors du fortin, j'ai rencontré une grande quantité d'éclats de silex et des nucléus de silex d'où ces éclats étaient tirés. Dans cette contrée on ne rencontre pas de silex en place. Ceci fait supposer que les assiégeants et les assiégés se servaient de pointes de flèches en silex : la présence de nucléus prouve qu'on les fabriquait hâtivement sur place.

J'ai cru reconnaître aussi, près de l'endroit où se trouvaient les stèles, des poteries gauloises ; ce sont des poteries grossières en fragments indéterminables. Aussi je n'affirme rien quant à la provenance.'

I owe the photographs 16, 17, to the kindness of M. Gauchery and of M. de Goy, of the Société des Antiquaires du Centre à Bourges.[1]

V

Before proceeding further, I append a few notes and corrections relating to the inscriptions at the Hôtel de Cluny in Paris and the Château de Saint-Germain. The references are to my previous paper.

P. 46, a little of the top corner of the P of PVBLICE is still visible.

P. 47, a bit of the final I of VSEILONI can be detected, but the N suggested will not fill the gap: possibly NN is required.

P. 49. The scratch before ESVS was possibly a clumsy attempt to convert the latter into IESVS.

P. 50. The final S of [C]ERNVNNOS is very doubtful: I can find no certain trace of it. As to SMERT[VLL]O[S], I thought I detected a little of the right side of the O, but if that should prove correct, there would be no room left for a final S.

P. 51. The T of FORT[VNA] is only partly there. The altar face to the left of Fortuna shows Cernunnos with a female figure to his right. On the face to Fortuna's right there is another group of two figures, but in both instances the inscriptions are gone.

[1] The photographs have come to hand late and I find that the photographer, anxious about the success of his work, has baffled the three of us. He seems to have traced the letters on the stones with something black before attempting to photograph them. He has for example made ЄΠΟЄΙ into ЄNOЄI with quite a neat N, which nobody had seen before, and he appears to have mended other letters including the omegas. But if anybody familiar with photographs scrutinizes them, he will detect the top of the Greek Π intact, and he will fix on at least one Ω, as a friend of mine has done. The photographs show the relative positions of the writing, but it is useless to consult them for the peculiarities of individual letters.

P. 52. In the Bratronos inscription the reading RICI is right, the C has its lower part continued some distance horizontally and on that stands an I, the top of which almost touches the top end of the C. The O of LEVCVIIO has a tangent (Ꝺ) which reaches the tops of the II. Compare the case of the last O (= Ω) of OCLICNO with the tangent underneath (p. 55 above). This is not all, for we have here two instances of omega: I find that I noticed them in 1905, but thought that the variation was not deserving of mention. My note in reference to NANTΩNICN runs thus—'The O here and in SVIO is circular except at the bottom, which is a straight line.' I have only come across it by accident after studying the Genouilly inscriptions. From this inscription one learns that the *o* of NANTON- was long, and in the case of SVIΩREBE there is no difficulty in proving it long. Witness the Welsh *chwïor-yđ*, 'sisters,' Latin *sorōr-es*, and Welsh *cy-chwïawr*, which Silvan Evans renders 'coequal; even, like; participant', but in the line from the poet L. G. Cothi, which he quotes—'Henri a Siaspar gychwïawr', it admits of being rendered 'brothers'. For a remarkable parallel in point of meaning compare the German *ge-schwister*, 'brothers, brother and sister.'

P. 56. In the inscription on the Celtic Mercury's shoulders in the court of the Château de Saint-Germain I formerly read SOSI in the second line and suggested SOSIN. I have looked at it several times since and I thought that I got so far as to trace the N of SOSIN. When I was there last April I had the invaluable assistance of M. Camille Jullian, who thought he could detect the beginning of the N, but that letter, I must confess, is not certain. We came to the conclusion that the third and last line ended with RO, which I had previously thought to be PO. The letters immediately preceding seemed to be MA, though I had some difficulty in tracing them. The three letters preceding the M seemed to be ESO, and preceding these near the edge M. Jullian thought that a depression, which I did not regard as carried through, was the top portion of a C. He thought also that he could detect the return end of that letter behind the foot of the E. On a previous visit I examined these doubtful traces with M. Reinach, who had a good cast made of the inscription, and we failed to read them into a C or G. M. Jullian's reading would make the whole into CESOMARO, better GESOMARO, for an older spelling of GAISOMARO, nominative *Gaiso-māro-s*, 'the man of the great *gaesum* or spear,' or perhaps 'great in using the spear'. Even now, however, I am not quite certain that it is not the name of Esus which forms what is practically the first element in the compound: the latter in that case might be interpreted as meaning 'great like Esus, or with,

Esus'. Our reading of the inscription as a whole may be represented thus:—

APRONIOS
IEVRV · SOSIN
(G)ESOMARO

It would have to be rendered: 'Apronios made this for (G)esomaros.'

*** Here we may briefly discuss an inscription in Latin containing a name *Esumopas* into which that of Esus seems really to enter. It is a bronze bust at Saint-Germain, with the inscription:—

ESVMOPAS · CNVSTICVS
V S L M

It appears to have been discovered in 1830 in the course of excavations made in the forest of Beaumont-le-Roger, near Évreux. The foundations were then discovered of some four dwellings and a small rustic temple to which the bust probably belonged. A short and systematic account of the whole find was published by M. Salomon Reinach in the *Revue Celtique*, xv. 413–17, with a plate; also in his *Cultes, Mythes et Religion*, i. 253. The interpretation offers very considerable difficulty. The abbreviation means *votum solvit libens merito*; but who paid his or her vow? Whose was the name, and whose the bust? The obvious conclusion would seem to be that Esumopas was the person who paid his vow. In that case the name of the divinity is not given, but that was sufficiently fixed by the fact that the vow was paid in a certain temple, which was well known to the worshippers as belonging to such and such a divinity. Perhaps the bust was that of the divinity, and perhaps it was meant to be the visible expression of the identity of that divinity. In any case we could hardly expect the bust to have been that of the donor. On the other hand, we should hardly expect the donor to have concealed his name. The epithet or surname was doubtless a Celtic adjective *cnūstico-s*, derived from a stem represented in Irish by *cnuas*, 'a collection; treasure; recollection, reflection,' and by *cnuasaim*, 'I collect, gather, glean,' and *cnuasaire*, 'a collector, a gatherer' (Dinneen). The surname may have meant 'fond of gathering, habitually collecting', unless we render it still more simply as treasurer or collector.

Assuming then that Esumopas was the donor's name, and that the first part of it was the name of the god Esus, we have *mopas* left to be considered. In the first place, the first vowel may be *o* or *a*. Witness the Latin genitive *Agedomapatis* (*Acedomapatis*) cited by M. Reinach, also *Agedomopatis* (compare *Agedillus*,

Agedovirus) and others given by Holder. The form with *a*, *mapas*, for *mapat-s*, is doubtless of the same origin as Gaulish *mapo-s*, 'son' (in *Maponos*), Welsh *map*, *mab*, 'boy, youth, son,' and *mopas* for *mopat-s* cannot be severed from it. Now if we substitute the consonants of Goidelic or a language resembling Goidelic, we have a stem *maquat-*, which according to the phonology of Goidelic must eventually reduce *qu* to *c*. This latter, subject to lenition, would become *ch*; and subjected to further lenition it would result in *gh*, written *g*. Similarly the *t* would become successively *th* and *dh*, written *d*. Now this, with the vowel *o* preferred, would give us exactly the stem and declension of the Medieval Irish word *mog*, genitive *mogad*, dative *mogaid*, which is explained as meaning a servant or a slave: see Stokes's *Three Middle-Irish Homilies*, p. 70, Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 694. But there was an Irish word liable to be confounded with it, and that was *mug*, genitive *mogo*, *moga*, 'a slave, a servant': see Stokes's *Oengus*, pp. 4, 5, 347, 348, where we have *Dé mog*, corresponding to the Welsh *meu-dwy*, 'a hermit or Culdee,' literally *servus Dei*: see p. 3 above. Here we have the etymological equivalent of the Gothic *magus*,[1] 'a boy, a child, a slave.' Whatever the exact signification of *mug*, genitive *mogo*, may have been originally, that of *mog*, genitive *mogad*, was probably not slave or servant, but lad or young man; for words starting with this sort of meaning frequently acquire that of service. Take, for instance, such a word as Welsh *gwas*, 'a young man,' which is now mostly used in the sense of 'a servant man'; not to mention the English and French *page* derived from the Greek παιδίον, 'a boy, a slave boy.' Keeping in view the idea of age as originally underlying *mogad*, and giving the preference this time to the vowel *a*, we can account for Irish *maccdacht* in the term *ingen maccdacht*, 'a grown-up girl.' The latter word was borrowed into the Brythonic dialects when the Irish pronunciation was *machathecht* or *machadecht*, and it makes in Medieval Welsh *machteith*, 'a damsel, a young woman.' Allowing here for the influence of the word *macc*, 'boy, son,' and for the preference for *a*, we see that *maccd-* is a short equivalent for *mogad-* = *mochath-* from *macat-* for *maquat-*. This last with *o* in its turn making *moquat-*, would be the early equivalent of the Gaulish *mopat-* of the name

[1] M. d'Arbois de Jubainville in his *Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, II. 344, suggests that this was one of the Celtic words borrowed early by the Teutonic nations; another according to him (p. 343) was the adjective *free* for early *frijo-s* from a Celtic *prijo-s*, which appears in Welsh quite regularly as *rhyð*, 'free.' Hence it would follow that Celtic at the time of the Teutonic borrowing had not done away with Aryan *p*, and that the borrowers had not done provecting *p* into *f*.

A POTSHERD FROM LEZOUX (PUY-DE-DÔME)

PHOTO. 18 *a*

A POTSHERD FROM ANNECY (AIN)

PHOTO. 18 *b*

Mopates, applied by a Nervian citizen to his own Mother Goddesses: see Holder. From this use of such a name one may infer that they were regarded as being in the bloom of life.

VI

1. In the thirteenth volume of the Berlin *Corpus*, part iii, p. 459 (No. 10012. 19), the editor, Dr. Hirschfeld, has brought together under the heading *Vasa Gallica Ornata* two inscribed fragments of two earthenware vessels. One of them is in the Plicque Collection in the French National Museum in the Château de Saint-Germain, and comes from Lezoux in Auvergne. The other is in the museum at Annecy (Ain). Thanks to the courtesy of M. Salomon Reinach, I have before me a cast of each in plaster of Paris. The fragments do not belong to the same vessel, but they give portions of the same writing. That writing was made with a stilum on a mould, and then stamped on the vessels while they were still soft. So the inscription on the vessels stands in relief and reads from right to left. The Lezoux fragment has its surface well preserved for the most part, while the Annecy one had its lettering a good deal levelled and flattened by a clumsy touch of the potter's hand. In one direction the fragments overlap, so that it is possible to combine them into one, giving nearly the whole of the inscription. The writing is of the graffito kind and runs thus, as will be seen in photographs 18 *a* and 18 *b*, which represent the casts and should be scrutinized at every point:—

(1) CALIA · VII . . .
(2) BIVSNITI
(3) ⊀ OBIIRTII · M
(4) OVNO ⊗
(5) CALIINI
(6) OFICINA

Line 1. After the VII near the end one detects the bottom of the perpendicular of an N and there is room for a vowel O or I.

Line 2. The only thing to remark is that Dr. Hirschfeld and M. Plicque read the fifth character as a conjoint AN, which is probably right; it would be possible perhaps to read TI instead of AN.

Line 3. M. Plicque read the first character as X, and Dr. Hirschfeld as I or X (queried). To my thinking X is out of the question, and the letter meant is either I or a form of Є, to wit, ⊀: I give the latter

the preference, though the vowel I would do, as will be shown later. In support of ϵ in the same volume, one may turn to p. 479 (No. 5) and p. 480 (No. 8), in each of which several instructive instances of this kind of ϵ will be found to occur.

Line 4. At the end of this line in the Annecy fragment is something that was evidently meant to mark the end of the first part of the inscription. Dr. Hirschfeld suggests an ivy leaf.

Line 5 appears to begin with a C differing at the top from the C in lines 1 and 6. Only the top of it appears in the Lezoux fragment, while two bits of it may be detected in the Annecy one, namely, the tip of the top of it just over a letter A and the lower tip joining the lower end of the right limb of that A. That vowel has a trace of the underneath stroke shown in the final A of Calia in the first line. Then follows an *l* of the type ⅃ and after that $u = \text{II}$, that is E. In all these the strokes look very clumsy and broad, the ridges of all having been accidentally pressed flat in the making. The line is completed by the addition of NI, but these two letters, unlike the others, are scratched in the surface of the vessel to complete the lettering wiped off, and the two previous ones have their outlines traced in the same way. I ought to say that this line of letters as given in the *Corpus* differs considerably from what I seem to read on the cast of the Annecy fragment.

Line 6. Here the paste which stood out forming the first I of *oficina* is gone, but the area covered by it is distinctly traceable. The N is like that of NITI. The A is crowded into a corner, and only two out of the three strokes of an A are present: they have to be read conjointly with the N preceding.

So far these notes have mainly had to do with the writing and individual letters. The next thing is to complete the separation of the letters into words, which I do as follows: *Calia* · *Veni*|*bius Anniti*| *e oberte* · *M*|*ouno* ◌ | *Caleni* | *Oficina* |.

The first word to notice is *Calia*, which may be masculine of the *ā* declension, or else entitled to a final *s*. The latter would etymologically represent *Caliat-s* and make as its genitive *Caliat-os*, nom. plural *Caliat-es* (like *Mopates*, which I have just mentioned), meaning the individuals of a Calian *gens*, clan or family, or the inhabitants of a place known by some such name as *Calion*. In either case we may accordingly render *Calia(s)* as 'Calian', and treat *Venobius* as his name. Other names like *Calia*, treated as *Calias*, occur in the same volume of the *Corpus*, witness the following: REXTVGENOS SVLLIAS AVVOT 'Rechtugen the Sullian, Proprietor', *C. I. L.* XIII. iii. p. 474 (No. 85); ΔONNIAC, p. 489

(No. 76); MATIEPIAC, p. 489 (No. 78), which reminds me of an Ogam inscription in the neighbourhood of Lismore, in Co. Waterford. The probable reading is *Ercagni Maqi Miteres* or *Mitereas*, where the last word is presumably a genitive of a name *Miteri-s*. Whatever the reading of the last letters may prove to be, the name seems an early form of *Midir* (usually indeclinable). The bearer of the latter used to be treated as one of the chiefs of the Fairies of Ireland. Possibly it was originally an ancient divinity of the race represented by them in so far as they may be regarded as historical, but compare *Mitis* (p. 9 above). Another name of this class is *Nettas*, which will be mentioned presently. For more instances see Holder, s.v. *-ati-s*.

The next word to demand attention is *Venobius*, which coupled with *oficina* would seem at first sight to prove the inscription to be in Latin; but these cannot be compared for weight with the Celtic tense form *oberte*. The presence of *oficina* can only show that the Latin word in the form *oficina* was borrowed early by the Celts of Gaul: in French it was reduced to *uisine*, now *usine*, 'a workshop.' It might be conceded that what follows the nondescript stop, namely, *Caleni Oficina*, was meant as Latin, but I see no evidence that the potter was conscious of it. Even had he been so, it does not involve our having to regard the previous portion of the inscription as Latin: we should merely have to regard the whole as bilingual. *Venobius* we may state with confidence to have been a Celtic name which took that form as a contraction of *Vēno-bivos*, which would be in Irish *Fían-béo*, *Fían-bhéo*, meaning the 'quick or alert warrior'. The first element occurs in other names, such as possibly the following cited by Holder, *Veni-carus*, *Veni-marus*, and *Veni-touta*: compare the Lepontian feminine *Venia Metelicna* discussed by Danielsson, loc. cit., p. 18. The other element is in Irish *béo*, 'quick, alive,' Welsh *byw* of the same meaning. It occurs in such Irish names as *Béo-aed*, *Buad-béo* (early genitive *Bodi-bev-e*, in Ogam), *Cloth-béo*, *Find-béo*, *Béóc*, *Béoan*, in Old Welsh *Biuan*, *Biuuan*, *Biuguan*, and contracted *Buan*, as an ordinary adjective *buan*, 'quick, swift.' It is due to their translating Celtic names that the Déssi had such Roman ones as *Vitalis*, *Vitalianus*, and *Vitalinus*: see the *Cymmrodor*, XXI. 48–50. But to return to the potsherds, it is merely an accident that we have here a name *Venobius* which looks like Latin. It does not prove that the inscription is Latin; and it is probably to be explained as a contraction of *Venobiuos* into *Vēnobius* of the *u* declension.

Anniti seems to be the genitive of *Annitios* or *Annitos*, and this can be referred to a group containing such instances as *Annios*, *Anniccus*, *Annicco* (fem.) cited by Holder. Our genitive is followed by *e* (or *i*)

and the sequence is exactly parallel to Latin *Marci f.*, 'son of Marcus.' The potter has been careless about the punctuation—he has only two points in the whole inscription plus the leaf or nondescript stop: to be consistent he ought to have inserted either more or none at all. I venture to treat the present case as if it had been *Anniti e.*, and to translate it 'son of Annitios'. The inscriber might have left the genitive standing alone or used some such patronymic as we have had in Ϲιλουκνος: he was tempted by the Latin formula to suggest one of the vernacular words for 'son', indicated here by the abbreviation *e* (or *i*), which would have been *f* or *f.* if he had been writing Latin. The question now arises, what that word was. The answer is given by a bilingual inscription at Eglwys Cymun in Carmarthenshire: see the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1893, p. 285 (also for 1889, p. 6). The epitaph is probably of the fifth or sixth century, and there the Goidelic equivalent for Latin *filia* is given in Ogam as *inigena*, the spelling in old manuscript Irish was *ingen*, now *inghen*, 'daughter, girl.' The corresponding word for 'son, boy', would doubtless at one time have been *inigenos*. Both probably meant a child that was in-born, that is to say, born in the house. Compare the Latin *ingenuus*, *ingenua*, 'a free-born man or woman.' Both of these occur also as cognomens in Roman nomenclature, and we can match them in the case of *ini-geno-s*, but in the slightly different spelling *eni-geno-s*, as in an inscription from the neighbourhood of Grasse (Alpes-Maritimes), which reads SECVNduS ENIGENI F(ilius): see Holder, s.v. *Eni-g(e)nus*. His instances show that the second *e* was liable to be dropped, leaving the name shortened into *Enignos*, genitive *Enigni*. With regard to the other *e* we may mention that the Celts of Gaul seem to have treated the prefix not as *ini* but *eni*, which recalls the Greek ἐνι, 'in.' Among other instances cited by Holder are the following: *Eni-boudius*, *Eni-cenius*, *Eni-cus*, *Eni-ca*, *fundus Enīānus*. This suggests a personal name *Enianos* which is in Welsh *Einion* and appears in the Marches in the English garb of *Onion-s*, while *Ab Ein(i)on* yields *Beinon* or *Beynon*. One is tempted to ask, whence came John Bunyan's surname?

The next word to require notice is OBIIRTII, which is the verb of the sentence. It doubtless meant 'gave' or 'offered', and stood for *od-ber-te*, from *ber*, 'to bear or carry, *ferre*,' with the preposition *ud*, 'out.' But the analogy of *Ucuetis*, from *Ud-gus-etis*, would lead one to expect not *oberte* but *operte*, which was possibly one of the ways of spelling the word. The reason for hesitation may have been that the consonant resulting from the assimilation of *db* was not exactly either *p* or *b* but an explodent of intermediate force between those

two labials. At any rate one finds the same uncertainty in the orthography of the kindred words in Irish. I select some instances from the *Grammatica Celtica*[ii], where we have two groups involving *od-ber*. (*a*) One of them prefixes the preposition *ad* (*ed*, *id*, and *iodh*), 'to,' as follows: *ad-opuir*, 'offert' (885[a]), *ad-opart*, 'tradidit' (455[a]), *ad-obartat*, 'obtulerant' (885[b]), *ad-oparar* and *ad-obarar*, 'offertur' (471[a], 885[b]), *ad-oparthe*, 'offerebatur' (480[b]). Some of the instances have the particle *ro* inserted, such as *ad-r'-opart*, 'obtulit' (885[a]), *atrópert* = *at-ro-opert*, 'obtulit ei' (885[a]). To the foregoing may be added the forms of the verbal noun *ed-part* (shortened from *ad-opart*), as follows: nominative singular feminine *adbart*, *edpart*, *idpart*, 'oblatio' (5[a], 59[a]), genitive *idbairte*, 'oblationis' (242[b]), dative *edpairt* (5[a], 59[a]), accusative *adbirt*, *audbirt*, *idbirt*, 'oblationem' (7[b]), genitive plural *idbart*, 'oblationum' (245[b]), dative *edpartaib*, 'oblationibus' (5[a], 59[a]), accusative *idbarta*, 'dona' (246[a]). The modern spelling is *iodhbairt*, which is treated as the nominative, though etymologically it represents the accusative; that is, the accusative is used as both accusative and nominative, which happens often to feminine nouns in Modern Irish. (*b*) The other group has the preposition *di* (*do*), 'from,' prefixed to *od-ber*, as in the following instances, likewise from the *Grammatica Celtica*: *do-opir*, 'privat' (430[a], 885[b]), *di-oiprid*, 'fraudatis' (885[b], 994[a]), *na ti-ubrad*, 'ne privet' (365[b], 885[b]), *di-uparthe*, 'privatam' (885[b]), *di-upart*, 'decrease' (885[b]), *oc di-upirt* or *oc di-ubeirt* (484[b], 885[b]).

Now such a form as the Irish absolute preterite *birt*, 'tulit,' is supposed to be derived from *ber-ti* (Thurneysen, p. 392), and on the other hand the *bert* of such a compound as *du-bert*, 'dedit,' and the *od-ber-t* of *at-ro-opert* harmonize exactly with our *ober-te* with *-te* rather than *-ti*. Compare also Welsh *cymerth* (from *com-ber-t*), 'took,' *differth*, 'defended' (also *cymyrth* and *diffyrth*); and *gwan-t*, 'wounded,' *can-t*, 'sang,' which seem to be derived from *ŭan-te* and *can-te*. So we may perhaps regard *-te* as one of the original terminations of the forms in question in Irish and Welsh, just as it was in our Continental *oberte*.

Mouno is the dative of *Mounos*, the name of a god, given also in the dative, as DEO MOVNO in an inscription from Risingham in Northumberland (*C. I. L.*, VII. 997). Practically the same name occurs in the longer form *Mogovnos*, as in an *ex-voto* found at Horburg in Alsace, reading *Apollini Granno Mogovno* (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 5315): other spellings are *Magounus*, *Magonus*: see Holder, s. v. A related form *Mogon-s* yields the dative *Mog(on)ti* in an inscription from Netherby in Cumberland (*C. I. L.*, VII. 320). From *Mogont-* comes

a shortened form *Mount-* as in DIS MOVNTIBVS in an inscription from High Rochester, now in the museum at Newcastle (*C. I. L.*, VII. 1036, cf. 321). In this connexion may be mentioned the statement that one of St. Patrick's names was *Magonius*, that is, *Magōnius*, which by dropping the vowel-flanked *g* became in Welsh *Maun*: see Mommsen's 'Historia Brittonum cum Additamentis Nennii' in the *Chronica Minora*, III. 195 (§ 51). An ancient instance of *g* being made a spirant and reaching the vanishing point occurs in the Coligny Calendar in the word for house or temple, namely, *tio* for *tigos*, whence the woman's name *Tioccia Peregrina* (*C. I. L.*, XII. 3897), which may be compared with the Latin *Domestica* and *Domesticus*. For other instances see Holder, I. 1503.

There remains to be mentioned the genitive *Caleni*, of which I have but little to say, except that the reading is not very certain, but *Caleni*, if approximately correct, may be regarded as belonging to the same family as *Calia*. In any case *Calenos*, latinized *Calenus*, is a name known in the ceramics of the Continental Celts: witness the *Vascula Gallica* in the thirteenth volume of the *Corpus*, part iii, p. 167 (No. 10010. 404), where we have as one of the 'tituli signaculo impressi' the following: CALENVS from Saignes (Cantal), in the museum at Limoges; CALENVS ⊃ from Trion, in the Guimet Museum in Paris, a stamp which I have seen; CALENVS ⊂ F(ecit) from Tongres, in the Brussels Museum; also one said to read CALENVS ⊂ F from Trion, in the Guimet Museum, which I failed to find; another reading CALEN . FC from Trion is said to be in the Lyons Museum. The reader of Tacitus's *Histories* will remember *Calenus* as the name of an Aeduan whom he mentions (iii. 35): see Holder, s.v.

When the foregoing notes are taken together, the resulting text and translation are the following: Calia Venobius Anniti e(*nigenos*) oberte Mouno ⊂ Caleni Oficina. = Calias Venobius Anniti f(*ilius*) obtulit Mouno ⊂ Caleni Officina.

2. A small red pot found at Banassac (Lozère) is described in the thirteenth volume of the *Corpus*, part iii, p. 480 (No. 10016. 13) as having on it a graffito reading:—

NIIDDAMON
DIIKGV KINOT

Here I take *Linot* to be an abbreviation, like AVVOT (p. 38 above), of the nominative to *delgu*, which I regard as a transitive verb, governing as its accusative *neddamon*.

I have nothing more to say of *Linot*, so I come to *delgu*, which appears to be a preterite ending the third person in *u*, like IEVRV, for which see p. 56 above, where it is found translated into Greek

by ἐποίει; or let us say that it meant *fecit*, and that in point of formation it reminds one of Italian *cantò*, from Latin *cantavit*, 'sang.' We have *delg* in the Old Irish *condelgg*, one of the meanings of which was the holding of two things together for the purposes of comparison. The modern spelling is *coindealg*, which Dinneen explains as 'contention, persuasion, comparison'. The verb derived from it is *coindealgaim*, which gives as its meaning 'I advise, I persuade, I convince'. The Welsh is *cynhaliaf*, 'I support, maintain,' from *cynnal*, 'to support or hold up.' But we have in Welsh the simplex also, which is *dal*, *dàla*,[1] 'to hold, to catch.' Our glottologists would probably refer these words to some such form as Fick's *dérghô*, 'fasse' (4th edition, I. 68), but we require *délghô*, and so apparently do the Germanic nations. Witness the related Gothic words employed in Ulfilas's *New Testament*, to wit *tulgjan*, 'to confirm, to stablish,' *tulgus*, 'steadfast, firm,' and *tulgiþa*, 'stronghold, foundation, safety' (1 Cor. xv. 58, 2 Cor. ii. 8, x. 4, 1 Thess. iii. 13, v. 3, 1 Tim. iii. 15, 2 Tim. ii. 19).

We now come to the accusative *Neddamon*, in which the *dd* probably mean *đđ*: that would imply that there was another spelling, *nessamon*, which I should try to explain with the help of the Irish word *neas*, the meaning of which Dinneen states to be 'The wheel or machine by which an earthen vessel is turned in a pottery; the earthen vessel itself'. O'Reilly defines it somewhat similarly as 'a tool or frame for making earthen pots'. A sentence or two in Cormac's *Glossary*, to wit, in the article on *nescoit*, seem to carry us a good deal further back. They relate how Goibniu, the great smith of the Tuatha Dé Danann, was at work when he heard something about

[1] Welsh has another word *dàl* or *dàla*, to wit in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen (Oxford *Mabinogion*, pp. 118–20), once in *dal cleheren*, 'a gadfly's sting,' once in *dala gel*, 'a leech's sucker,' and lastly in *dala ki*, 'a (mad) dog's tooth.' The Irish equivalent is *dealg*, genitive *deilge*, f. 'a thorn, a pin, a brooch,' and the derivative *dealgán*, 'a bodkin, a peg, a skewer, a knitting-needle.' Here also we have the *lg* equivalents in the Germanic language, for instance in the A.-Saxon *telga*, 'a branch or twig,' German *Zelge*, *Zelch-holtz*, 'a stick or piece of waste wood.' In spite of irrelevancy I cannot help pointing out the interest attaching to the Welsh word *cleheren*; it is contracted into *cleren*, and has as its plural *clêr*, meaning 'gadflies, stinging flies', also 'itinerant bards, musicians, or reciters, minstrels', *cler y dom*, 'dunghill minstrels, the meaner and more unskilful sort of minstrels.' *Clêr* is also used as a feminine collective, as in *bôn y glêr*, *tin y glêr*, 'the lowest of the low minstrels.' This *clêr* is in Irish *cliar*, gen. *cléire*, f. 'a band, a company, the clergy, the bards, strolling singers.' The vowels of *cliar*, *cléire* are explained by the uncontracted Welsh *cleher-en*; but the Christian *clērus* = κλῆρος comes in. There was, however, another κλῆρος in Greek which may possibly claim a common origin with *cleher-en*, as it is said to have meant 'a mischievous insect in bee-hives'.

his wife which made him angry and furious, and that he happened to have in his hand at the time a stick or piece of wood—the late Dr. Stokes called it a pole—on which he sang spells of magic, and with which he struck anybody coming near him, with the result that burning boils were produced on him of the shape of the piece of wood. The name of this wood or pole was *ness*, and we are told that it was used for forming around it a furnace of earth or clay (*an urnise criad*). The note enumerates four senses in which the word *ness* was used. Two of them are given thus: 'Ness ainm donchrund *ut prediximus*. Ness d*ana* ainm dondaurnisi criad f[é]issin amal asbert ben araile goibenn dorigéni marbnaith dia fir *dicens*.'[1] That is, '*Ness* is a name for the pole, as we said before. Then *ness* is a name for the clay furnace itself, as a certain smith's wife said who made an elegy to her husband, saying—'. Then follows a quatrain which was rendered into English by Dr. Stokes, in his last treatment of it, as follows:—

> 'Tis sad to me to look at him,
> The red flame of his furnace grows into the wall:
> Very sweet was the bass which his two bellows
> Would chant to the hole of his furnace.'

The instances which here follow, from Dinneen's *Dictionary* and from the Milan Codex, make me doubt whether the interpretation of *aurnise*, *urnise* as meaning furnace is tenable. Dinneen's spelling of the borrowed word for furnace is *foirnéis* or *fuirnéis*, which offers great facilities for confusion. Into the quatrain, however, no form of that vocable enters, but only the genitive of *ness*, namely *nis(s)*, *neis(s)*, m. The word *aurn(a)isi*, *urnise* or *aurnisi* (*urnisi*), without *criad* to qualify it, would seem to have had much the same meaning as the Modern Irish *uirnis*, also *uirlis*, *urlais*, 'a tool, an implement, an instrument' (Dinneen), *uirnis* f. 'apparel, tools, implements' (O'Reilly). In any case it is possible that *aurnis-* and *uirnis*[2] are derived from the word *ness*, with the

[1] This is copied from Dr. Stokes's edition of the Bodleian Fragment read by him to the R. Irish Academy, Nov. 30, 1871, englished and edited with notes in *The Phil. Society's Transactions*, 1891–4, pp. 171–3. His previous versions are to be found in the *Three Irish Glossaries* (text, Edinburgh, 1862), pp. 32, 33, and his edition of O'Donovan's *Cormac's Glossary* (translation, Calcutta, 1868), pp. 123, 124. Since the above was set up in type a recent number of the *Journal of the R. Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland* reached me containing an elaborate note on the quatrain by Dr. P. W. Joyce (vol. XLI, pp. 180–2).

[2] This would put an end to the idea that these words are derived from *harness* or words related to *harness*: for the discussion of that question see Thurneysen's *Keltoromanisches*, s.v. *arnese*, pp. 36–8, and discard the alleged Welsh word *haearnaeth*. See also the *New English Dict.*, s.v. *harness*.

prefix *are*, which sometimes takes in Irish, besides the form *air-*, that of *aur-*, *ur-*, &c. Cormac's is not the earliest allusion to the *ness*. It occurs in the Milan Codex, which has notes on the text of the Psalms, both of them being provided with a wealth of glosses in Old Irish. Now, in fol. 18[a], 18[b], the ninth verse of the second Psalm is annotated in that way. The text reads: 'Reges eos in virga ferrea et tanquam vas figuli confringes eos.' The commentator remarks that vessels which have proved failures are, while still unbaked, broken up and placed on the potter's wheel for him to form them again—'dum adhuc (vasa) viridia sunt et nondum fornace durata comminuat (figulus) ac formanda rursus rotae imponat' (Stokes & Strachan's *Thesaurus*, I. 22, 23). On *rotae* there is the gloss: '.i. roth cruind forsandenat nacerda innalestrai . . . ṫ. crann cruínd immuambiat ocuan denum,' which means 'that is a round wheel on which the potters make the . . . vessels, or a round piece of wood about which they are while being made'. This is a reference to the *ness*, though no distinctive name is given, but the gloss adds the statement that it was round in shape. Lastly, it will be noticed that the Latin contains nothing to suggest the alternative explanation which the Irishman introduced on his own initiative.

All this, however, does not completely cover the word *neddamon*, and the force of the ending *-mo-* is not certain. Possibly it did not greatly affect the meaning of the word, and in that case I should suggest translating the sentence thus: 'Linot. held the *ness* stick,' or, having regard to the collocation of the words and the emphasis implied, I should put it: 'The *ness* stick Linot. held,' or, more precisely still: 'The *ness* stick was held by Linot.' I ought, perhaps, to point out that the difference of form between the G and the V of *delgu* is slight as represented in the *Corpus*. Were it possible to read *delvv* or *delu̯u*, I should translate: 'The vessel was fashioned by Linot.'

3. The same volume, p. 489, No. 79, gives the reading of a name on a piece of red earthenware in the National Museum at Saint-Germain, where it is numbered 17931. We are not told whence it comes, but the reading is given as NE TA, which is probably to be completed as NETTA. I guess that the letter which has been worn away was a T: the form *Netta* may be taken as representing an earlier and longer one, *Nettas*, of the same declension as the *Esumopas* already discussed, not a feminine NETTA: see NETTAS in No. 4 below. Its Celtic genitive in Gaul may be expected to have been *Nettat-os*, though no trace of a nominative *Nettas* or of a genitive *Nettatos* is known to me in any Goidelic inscription. There is, however, no lack

of traces of a related form which made its genitive in *-os*, *Nett-os*: the corresponding nominative would be *Nett-s*, yielding *Nēs*, *Nē*, which Goidelic eventually made into *nie*, *nía*, explained to mean '*trenfer*, a champion': see Cormac's *Glossary*, translated by O'Donovan, and edited by Stokes (Calcutta, 1868), and Stokes's edition of the fragment of the *Glossary* in the Bodleian MS. Laud 610; also Zeuss's *Gram. Celtica*[11], p. 255[a], where a spelling *nihe* is given. The corresponding genitive in Old Irish was *niath*, *niad*, also *niat*; but we have older inscriptional forms of *Nett-os*, which even in the earliest Goidelic inscriptions had to become *Net[t]-as*, *Net[t]-a*. Thus an epitaph at Island, near Stradbally in Co. Waterford, reads in Ogam, 'Cunanetas ma(qi) muc(oi) Netasegamonas,' meaning the monument 'of Cū-Netas son of the kin of *Nēs-Segamonas'. *Cuna* stands for an earlier *cunas*, genitive of *Cū*, 'hound, dog,' meaning in personal names the guardian and protector of the house. So *Cū-Netas* meant a house guardian or protector belonging to *Nēs*. But what did *Nēs* or *Netas* mean? That has already been answered in connexion with the later forms *nia*, genitive *niat[h]*, but we can get at the signification in another way. The inscription in question may be of the fifth century, and in some 200 years, say in the seventh century, *Cuna-Netas* would have lost its short-vowelled case endings and appear as *Con-Net*. Now this virtually occurs in an inscription on a large stone near the foot of the mountain which is crowned with the ruins of Cahirconree, that is to say, the *cathair* or citadel of Cú-Rí, which you frequently find hidden in the clouds as you travel past from Tralee to Dingle. This late Kerry epitaph reads *Conu-Nett maqi Conu-Ri*, 'the monument of Cú-Nétt son of Cú-Rí.' Here there is a slight difference, for the genitive of *Cú* is not *conu* but *con*. The *u* is a hypocoristic and indeclinable termination appended to *con*: in fact, the word occurs elsewhere as *Conu* and *Cunnu*, as do other names such as *Eochu* (otherwise *Eochaid*), *Dinnu*, *Finu* or *Finnu*, *Sinnu*, and the like: see my *Studies in Early Irish History*, p. 4. The point to which I wish to call attention is the fact that *Nett* is the exact equivalent of the early genitive *Net[t]as*, previous to *ē* becoming *ia*, as in *nia*, *niath*: compare a late inscription, *Veqreq* (not *Viqreq*) *moqoi Glunlegget*, 'the monument of Fiachra, kin of Glunlegget-': see Rhŷs's *Ogam-inscribed Stones of the R. Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1902), pp. 7, 32.

The genitive *Net[t]* occurs later, for instance, in Cormac's *Glossary*, p. 25, where we have *Be Net* explained to mean the woman or wife of Nett, whose own name is said to have meant *cath*, 'battle.' The wife's name is said to have been *Nemon*, given also as *Nemain*;

and she is usually either equated or correlated with Badb, of whom O'Donovan speaks as a war goddess of the Tuatha Dé Danann. On the next page of the *Glossary* we have the entry repeated as follows: 'Beneid .i. neid nomen viri. Be ejus nemon a ben,' to wit, 'Be Neid, that is, Neid is the name of the husband. His woman is Nemon, his wife.' The Laud Fragment has under *Néit* (p. 9) the following: 'Néit .i. diacatha lagente goedel. nemon uxor illius,' which may be rendered thus: 'Neit, i.e. deus pugnae apud (paganas) gentes Goedelorum; Nemon uxor illius.' Besides Bé Net, among others called after the battle god was *Mug Néit*, a king whose name, meaning 'Slave of Nét', figures in the Eber pedigrees in the Book of Leinster (fo. 319^b, 320^b) as father of Mug Nuadat = Eogan Mór, the hero of the story of the Battle of Magh Leana, published by Eugene Curry (Dublin, 1855). Another was called grandson of Nét, namely, Balor, the terrible leader of the Fomorians in the story of the Battle of Moytura, edited by Dr. Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, xii. 52–130: see also my *Notes on the Coligny Calendar*, pp. 44, 45. There was still another great figure that passed as grandson of Nét in Irish legend, namely, Bres, son of Elathan, son of Nét, from whom one of the landmarks of Ireland is supposed to take its name of *Carn húi Néit*, 'the Cairn of Nét's grandson.' In Hogan's newly published *Onomasticon Goedelicum* it is called in a more modern spelling *Carn Uí Néid*, and located near Mizen Head in Co. Cork. The same work has also duly registered *Ailech Néit* or *Néid*, now called Elagh or Greenan Ely (in Irish *Grianan Ailigh*): it was the palace of the Northern Kings, situated some seven miles from Derry. For both place-names see Stokes's edition of the Rennes Dinnshenchas in the *Rev. Celtique*, xv. 438, xvi. 40–3.

From the statements which have been cited from Cormac's *Glossary* we know that Net had two meanings, those of battle and battle personified, let us say a god of battle. When, however, it was applied in a compound name to a man, it can only have meant one who makes successful fights, a brave warrior, a powerful champion, and this is the meaning, as already mentioned, which Old Irish gave to the word *nía*, genitive *níath*. We may now consider what light this may shed on the difficulties of some old Goidelic names; let us take the genitive *Neta-Segamonas*. This I take to be a syntactic compound meaning the warrior or champion fighter of *Segamo*. On the Continent *Segamonas* would have been *Segomonos*, with a nominative *Segomo*, the *o* of the same sound as that of the *-os* of the genitive singular having been modified into *a* in Goidelic inscriptions. Now the god Segomo is equated with the Roman Mars, as for instance

in an important inscription at Lyons dating from Vespasian's time, and containing the words *Marti Segomoni sacrum*. The other inscriptions cited by Holder come from Cimiez, near Nice, from Artemare, near Culoz (Ain), from Bolard, near Nuits (Côte-d'Or), and from Arinthod (Jura): see *C. I. L.*, V. 7868, XIII. 1675, 2532, 2846, 5340. *Neta Segamonas* comes down into the Irish (Eber) pedigrees as *Niad Segamain*, where *Segamain* is a re-made genitive as if the original had been *Segamani*, corresponding to a nominative *Segamanos* (Bk. of Leinster, fo. 319[a1], 320[b], 346[d]). In an extract from 'The Colloquy of the Ancients' in the Book of Lismore, printed in O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*, II. 483–4, we have the following cases of the name—acc. *Nia seghamain*, dat. *Nia shegamain*, gen. *Niadh shegamain*, where the last *h* is as unexpected as the accompanying statement that in the time of the ancient king of this name both cows and does used to be milked. The Four Masters give the genitive as *Niadh Sedhamain*, with the *s* unmutated: they have a corrupt *dh* for *gh* throughout. They date this king's reign from A.M. 4881 to 4887. As far as one can judge, the inscribed name *Neta Segamonas* is to be identified with the Déssi of what is now County Waterford, where it occurs three times, at Island as already mentioned, at Seskinan, and at Ardmore, but no trace of it has been detected anywhere else in Ireland. A shortened and more correct form is cited from the Bodley MS., Laud 610, by Stokes in his *Oengus*, p. 70, where we read 'isna Deissib Muman atá q*ui* Crónan mac *Nethsemon*' = 'in the Déssi of Munster is he, who (is also called) Cronan mac Nethsemon.'

As Neta-Segamonas meant the champion fighter of *Segamo*, so Neta-Ttrenalugos, Neta-Vroci, and Netta-Sagru should mean respectively the champion warrior of Trenalugus, of Vrocas, and of Sagru. These three vocables may be inferred to have been names of gods or great ancestors. *Trenalugus*, later *Trianlug*, occurs as the name of a man and an ancestor on the Ogam stone discovered not many years ago by Lord Walter FitzGerald in Donoughmore churchyard, near Maynooth, in Co. Kildare: see the *Journal of the Co. Kildare Arch. Society*, for session 1903, pp. 155–60, where the difficulties of the reading are discussed. Of *Neta-Vroci*, the second element has not been identified: it looks as if we ought to have had either *Broci* or *Vroici*. The inscription is on a stone in the neighbourhood of Stradbally in Co. Waterford. *Netta-Sagru maqi mucoi Br: ci* is an Ogam epitaph at Bridell near Cardigan. The vowel to be supplied is not certain, but I think it *e* (or *i*)—the two notches for *o* would not fill the gap. We are here more concerned with *Sagru*, which I take to be

a shortening of an earlier genitive *Sagrūs*. It belongs to an important group of names, one of which occurs as *Sagrus* in a Latin *ex-voto* from Aquileia (*C. I. L.*, V. 790). In the same neighbourhood of Cardigan, to wit, at St. Dogmel's, we have a closely related form *Sagragni*, which was Mr. Romilly Allen's reading of what had been more usually treated as *Sagramni*—the difficulty arises from the stone having split right across. Mr. Allen supported his reading by means of a photograph, which he showed me shortly before his final illness. The *netta* names are sometimes real compounds, which is the case with the Castletimon (Co. Wicklow) epitaph reading: *Netacari Netacagi*, that is perhaps 'the monument of Neta-caras and of Neta-cagias'. The first compound would mean a friend or beloved one who is a warrior, a warrior friend, and the other would mean a fence or defence consisting of a warrior, a fighting protector. I examined the stone in August, 1891, and considered the above reading certain, and I am surprised to find that Holder prints *Netacagni* instead of *Netacagi*: it should be examined again.

Besides the foregoing groups of forms there are at least two more, one postulating a nominative *Net*[*t*]*-os* and another an *n*-stem *Net*[*t*]*o*. As an instance of the latter Holder cites from Trujillo in the Spanish province of Estremadura an *ex-voto—Netoni deo Caelius v. s. l. m.*, and he expands an imperfect genitive NE into *Netonis* in another, to wit, from Guadix in Granada. Of this form of the name no instance has been detected in our Goidelic inscriptions. Of the other he cites an inscription from Condeixa a Velha in Portugal, reading 'Neto Valerius Avitus Turanius Sulpici de vico Baedoro gentis Pinton' (*C. I. L.*, II. 365, 3386, 5278). He also cites a passage from the *Saturnalia* (i. 19. 5) of Macrobius, a grammarian who flourished in the time of Theodosius; it runs thus: 'Martem solem esse quis dubitet? Accitani etiam, Hispana gens, simulacrum Martis radiis ornatum maxima religione celebrant, Neton vocantes.' This name should be *Netos* in the nominative and *Neti* in the genitive, which agrees with the treatment of it in Irish as nom. *Nét*, gen. *Néit*, *Néid*, but a nominative *Nét* might from the eighth century down appear as *Níat*, *Níad* (genitive *Néit*, *Néid*), of which we have the exact equivalent in Modern Irish *níadh*, with a genitive *niaidh* (incorrectly formed), which Dinneen interprets as 'a hero, a champion, a prize-fighter'. Thus we come back in a roundabout way to Cormac to find his god of battle, his *dia catha*, entering the ring as an ordinary prize-fighter. However, the use of *Nét*, with the genitive *Néit*, *Néid*, does not appear to have been general: witness Stokes's text of the Rennes Dinnshenchas in the *Revue Celtique*, xv. 438, 439, xvi. 40, 41, where we have

Néit functioning as nominative, genitive, and dative; this means that it was sometimes treated as indeclinable.

The spelling of these names will have appeared somewhat capricious; but there can be no doubt that in Celtic the *ē* was long, that is to say, that the name was *Nét*, *Néit*, *Néid*; and in the genitive *Nētas* this is proved by the diphthong in the Irish *níath*, *níadh*. Why it was long I cannot say; it has been suggested sometimes that here *ētt* stands for *ant*, that otherwise *Néttos* was the double of *Nantos*; but any reasonable dating of the inscriptions in point renders that explanation inadmissible. There is some difficulty as to the dental consonant; but *tt*, liable to be pronounced *d* and written so later on, is clearly what we have in *Nétt*, *Neitt*, *Néid*, as in *Carn Uí Néid*. On the other hand *t* between vowels becomes *th*, liable to be softened into a spirant *d* (= *đ*), written *dh* in Modern Irish but pronounced as if it were *gh*. This would apply to the modern *niadh*, *Niad Segamain*, and the earlier *Neta Segamonas*; similarly the *tt* of *Netta-Sagru* was probably pronounced *th*, and so in the *Nettac-i* of a fragmentary inscription on a stone found on Topped Mountain, near Enniskillen, though we seem to have the same name in Welsh as *Nethawc* (Oxford *Mab.*, p. 134). In other terms the dental was not the same in all the names in point: what then was the cause of the inconsistency? Cormac's *Glossary* supplies the explanation when it gives a word *niae*, *nia*, 'a sister's son,' and explains it as *mac sethar*, with that meaning; for Irish carries us back towards a state of matriarchy, where the sister's son would, next to the brother, be the heir and successor, and where there could be no brother's son reckoned. More modern ideas appear to make *nía* mean a brother's son as well as a sister's son; but Dinneen remarks that 'there is no single word in the modern language to express nephew without ambiguity; *garmhac* is the nearest to it', and he defines this as 'a nephew, a grandson, or great-grandson'. The Welsh equivalent was *nei*, now *nai*, 'a nephew,' without any distinction made between a sister's son and a brother's. These are equivalents, etymologically speaking, of Latin *nepos*, *nepōtis*, except that Celtic drops the *p* and Latin prefers the *o* long: thus Irish *ni-a* = Latin *ne(p)os*, while Latin *nepōtis* has its equivalent in a Goidelic *ni-ottas* which occurs as *niotta* in an ancient Ogam epitaph at Gortatlea in Kerry. It reads as follows:—

Dumeli maqi Glasiconas
Niotta Cobranar̥ . . .

That is, the monument 'of Dumel son of Glasiuc, the Distributor's sister's son': compare *cómhrann*, *cómhroinn*, 'a share, an equality,' Welsh *cyfran*, 'a share,' and Irish *rannaire*, '*partista*,' *ronnaire*,

'a butler' (Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, p. 731[b]). At Dunloe in Kerry a late Ogam, say of the seventh century, has *Niottas* reduced to *Niott* in the name *Niott-Vricc*, where *Vricc* (? *Vrecc*) is probably to be identified with the second element in the Welsh name *Cyn-ŵric* (*Kyn-wric*, *Ken-wric*, *Cyn-wryg*, in the Oxford 'Bruts'), of which the English name *Kenrick*, *Kendric*, seems to be an adaptation. To return to *Niott-Vricc*, this in a later spelling would make *Nioth-Frich*, and the way for the introduction of the sound of *th*, *dh* into this group was opened by the confusion occasioned by the two *nia* meaning 'fighter' and 'sister's son', and kept open by the change of *nioth* into *niath* in accordance with the tendency to make *o* into *a* in Irish. But for the influence of another word the dental in *Nēttas* and the forms allied with it would have remained *tt* to be reduced to *d*. So with *Nétt*, *Néitt*, *Néid*, and so with the Continental *Netta* and the *Nettas* to which we are coming; but the *Neto* and *Netoni* of Condeixa a Velha and Trujillo point to another pronunciation of the dental; not to mention Macrobius's *Neton*, which, however, carries no great weight in a matter of this sort. That there should prove to be a difference in the pronunciation of the same word between the Middle Rhine and Central Spain is less remarkable than the fact that it was sounded the same on the banks of the Middle Rhine and in the West of Ireland.

It ought perhaps to have been pointed out that we cannot be certain whether the man who scratched the name *Netta* on the vessel meant it to be Celtic or Latin, or regarded it as both the one and the other. This applies to other inscriptions in this volume of the *Corpus*. One of the instances deserving of a passing notice is that of OLILLOS on one of the 'Vascula Gallica' at Angre near Mons in Belgium (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 10010. 1459), and OLLILO in the museum at Calais and another in that of Mainz. *Ollilo* is short for *Olillos*, which, judging from analogy, I should be inclined to treat as a Latin nominative like *Olillus* in a Lyons inscription, containing the name of C. Gentius Olillus, described as *Magister pagi* of Condate (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 1670). *Olillos* may pass as a Latin nominative, but it may also be treated as a Celtic genitive *Olillōs* of a name *Olillus* of the *u* declension. It equates with the common Irish name *Ailioll*, which in an older form was *Oilill*: it has always remained of the *u* declension: see Stokes's and Windisch's *Ir. Texte*, II. 2 (p. 196), and Windisch's *Táin*, lines 2231, 2234, 5465, 5470, 5471, and pp. 303, 745: Hogan (p. 479[a]) cites *Lec* (or *Airdlec*) *Oilella* as formerly the name of the O'Flanagans' seat in the barony of Ballybrit in King's County.

4. In the same volume of the *Corpus*, p. 698 (No. 90), are given

two inscriptions on a bronze kettle now in the Mainz Museum, having been fished out of the Rhine in the year 1892. As represented in the *Corpus*, one of the inscriptions is small and illegible, while the other consists of letters punched beneath the handle reading:—

NIITTAS
MVCVRVЄ

Of this the editor writes thus: 'Nomina sunt Celtica; de priore cf. Holder, II. 738. Fortasse intellegendum est *Nettas Mucuru* (*filius*); sequitur signum incertum (vix littera S ut Koerbero visa est) aut interpungendi aut ornandi causa positum.—Praeterea impressum est sigillum fabri aerarii lectionis incertae.' Enough has already been said concerning *Nettas*, and we come at once to the other line. If we follow the editor we should read *Mucuru*, that is to say, *Mucurū* for *Mucurūs* as a genitive of the *u* declension, and the meaning would be what he suggests—'Nettas, son of Mucurus.' But what he treats as a 'signum incertum' at the end of the second line, looks as he has represented it, like an Є, which I should treat as representing *enigenos*, 'son.' This, however, makes no difference in the interpretation, except that instead of supplying the word for 'son', we suppose it to be already there, to wit, represented by the *e* of *e(nig(e)nos)*. There is perhaps a third possibility, namely, that the doubtful character is an S, as Körber thinks. This would make the second line *Mucurus*, and the whole inscription Latin, with *Mucurus* functioning as an epithet or surname to *Nettas*. On the whole I prefer either of the other interpretations.

In any case *Mucuru-* would seem to be a derivative from *mucu-*: compare *Rivros* from *Rivos* and the dative *Luguri* from *Lugu-s*. The stem recalls a word of frequent use and considerable difficulty in Goidelic inscriptions. In the genitive it is *mucoi* (*mucoe*) or *mocoi*: the nominative seldom occurs, but we have *moco* once for certain on a stone at Ballyquin near Carrick-on-Suir, but on the Co. Waterford side of that river. Now in Adamnan's *Vita Sancti Columbae* it is *moc(c)u* indeclinable, later *mac(c)u*. It often admits of being rendered by descendant or offspring, though the matter is not so simple as it looks. It equates with *dál*, 'a division, a cohort, μοῖρα,' as in *Mocu Sailne* = *Dál Sailne* (Reeves's Adamnan, p. 29), *Mocu Runtir* = *Dál Ruintir* (Adamnan, p. 47) = *de genere Runtir*, Stokes's *Patrick* (p. 306). It interchanges also with another tribal term *corco* (*corcu*, *corca*), thus: *Mocu Dalon* = *Corca Dallann* (Adamnan, p. 220), *Mocu Themne* = *Corcu Temne*, *Corcu Teimne* (Book of Armagh, 13 b 2, 14 a 1: see the Thesaurus, II. 267); and *Clogher* in Tyrone occurs as 'Clochar macu Doimni' (*Patrick*, pp. 178, 622), but in Adamnan's

Latin as 'Clocherum filiorum Daimeni' (Adamnan, p. 111). But though it may be rendered *gens* or *genus*, it is applied in the case of individuals, and Adamnan leaves it always without change as in the following—'per Lugbeum Mocu Min' (Adamnan, pp. 43, 141). Frequently, however, he introduces the Latin word *gente* as in 'Oisseneo nomine, Ernani filio, gente Mocu Neth Corb' (Adamnan, p. 22). Adamnan's learned editor, Dr. Reeves (p. 29), found, for instance, that 'Every man in the clan Dál Sailne was a *mac Ui Sailne*', that is, individually, a *Macu Sailne*. I take 'kin' to be the best word for it in English.

What *Mucuru-s* can have meant is not very clear, but most likely it signified 'of ancient race, of good family'. In any case it would be the sort of name that a Celt would be tempted to render into Latin by some such vocable as *Gentius*, which we have had in the inscription with 'C. Gentius Olillus'.

VII

Since my *Notes on the Coligny Calendar* were printed off I had an opportunity of revisiting the fragments of the latter on Aug. 18, 1910. I had provided myself with a large number of queries, and in this examination of the originals I once more had the kind assistance of Professor Lechat and M. Dissard. We found very few instances which require correction; and hardly any of them are of any importance. Such as they are, they stand thus:—

Page 88. Samonios, Col. 1, First Year, Day viii, instead of sMO it would probably be more correct to print SMO.

P. 90. Dumannios, Col. 7, Third Year, Day i, for LOD read LODD, not LODL. The fourth letter there is an imperfect D, and the engraver must have cut LODD for LOVD by mistake. The note on p. 91 should be corrected accordingly.

P. 92. Rivros, Col. 5, Second Year, At. viii. The lower end of the perpendicular of the P of PETIVX is there.

P. 95. Anagantios, Col. 11, Fourth Year, At. iiii. The cancelled letters should be read AMB.

Col. 14, Fifth Year, At. v. For AMB read AMB.

P. 105. Equos, Col. 13, Fourth Year, At. vi, for BV read BV.

P. 110. Cantlos, Col. 4, First Year, Day xv, for BREXT read BRIXT.

There remain more serious errors of a different order of which I shall now speak. The *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* for 1910, pp. 367–74, contains a review of my *Notes on the*

Calendar by Mr. Goddard H. Orpen, who also reviewed my previous paper on the same subject in the *Journal* for 1906, pp. 207–211. His first criticism in his review of 1910 relates to Dr. Fotheringham's conclusion that the Coligny Calendar is probably, like our Easter Calendar, a lunar calendar accommodated to the Julian Calendar in a cycle of 19 years. This conclusion appeared to be admissible only on the supposition that Equos (February) had only 29 days (not 30) in the third year; but that is precluded by a note in Celtic at the head of the intercalary month in that year. I ought to have called Dr. Fotheringham's attention to that note, but I forgot to do so: the fault is entirely my own and not his. He accordingly renews one of the alternative suggestions which he had made in my paper, that the Coligny Calendar was a quondam lunar calendar which had been allowed to become independent of the moon, like the Calendar of the Roman Republic, and he offers a new alternative which appears towards the end of this paper.

Among other things in Mr. Orpen's review, he has, where I had been satisfied with crude approximations, made calculations which go 'to show a much more precise coincidence in the dates of the great Celtic festivals and their supposed analogues in the Calendar' than I had claimed for them (p. 372). He conjectures that Samonios, Year 1, commenced a new cycle, and started in harmony with the Julian Calendar. On this assumption he found that the kalends of August, November, and May, with which the three Great Celtic festivals became respectively identified, would fall in Year 1 precisely at periods where the entries in the Calendar seem to mark important festivals, and in particular where the formula PRINNI LOVD occurs.

Next comes the question of the 'borrowed days', which I accounted for at first as weather forecasts, though later I was somewhat attracted by Dr. Thurneysen's propitiatory hypothesis. Now Mr. Orpen advances facts which he rightly regards as forming a strong confirmation of my original view, as follows (p. 373):—

'In the first place, nearly all these borrowed days fall either singly, or in groups of two, or, more often, three, on or about the 1st, 8th, 16th, and 23rd days of the lunar month. In other words, as we must suppose each month to have commenced approximately with a new moon, they *centre about, or immediately follow, the periods of the moon's changes*, which are still vulgarly regarded as heralding a change in the weather. These groups, too, are smaller and occur less frequently in the summer months, and tend to increase in size and frequency in the winter months, notably in those equated with January and February.

'Secondly, all the lucky days (i. e. days marked MD or DM) in an unlucky month are borrowed, without exception, from a lucky month.

'Thirdly, in a lucky month all days borrowed from an unlucky month are marked D alone (not MD or DM). These last two rules suggest that the borrowed day brought with it the quality of good or bad luck which attached to the month from which it was borrowed.

'But, fourthly, no day to which the puzzling vocable AMB is affixed, even when in, or borrowed from, a lucky month, is marked lucky; and this vocable, as has been noted by Sir John Rhys, though occurring upwards of 200 times, is never affixed to an even-number day. This last rule does not seem to support Sir John Rhys's view that AMB represents *ambaxti* (Lat. *ambacti*) in the sense of the servants or labourers of the chief ruler of the Temple.'

The suggestion which he offers in connexion with AMB is perhaps even more important than the rules just given, as being a decided step in advance, for he proceeds as follows:—'It occurs to me, however, that the contraction might represent the word in the singular, and mean that the day had been lent to some other month, and was, as it were, attendant on it in the same way as, according to Sir John Rhys, the intercalary months were called *ambaxti*, as being attendant on the ordinary months, and making them square with the seasons. This would imply that a regular banking account of days borrowed and lent was kept. The Calendar is in too fragmentary a state to audit the account properly, and see if an exact balance was maintained, but the attested figures in each case are not very different. Moreover, certain exceptional cases seem to bear out the supposition. Thus, nights are very rarely borrowed, but Samonios 24, year 1, and Samonios 1, year 2, each borrows a night from Dumannios. In Dumannios we find two nights (not the corresponding nights) marked AMB, as if to signify that for some purpose they were attendant elsewhere.'

For a moment I turn aside to show how Mr. Orpen's rules help in the matter of the restoration of imperfect readings, as for instance in the following:—

P. 87. Line 8 of the second intercalary month has been left thus by me—MAT D DVMAN IVO, but according to Mr. Orpen's rule 3 the MAT cannot stand, since Dumannios was not a lucky month.

P. 88. Samonios, Col. 4, Second Year, At. xi, where the printed entry reads MD AMB IVOS, requires the first M to be cancelled. It does not appear in the corresponding entry in Year 4, and it probably crept in by accident: at any rate Commandant Espérandieu has not got it, and I can find no allusion to it in my notes.

P. 104. Equos, Cols. 6 and 10, Second and Third Years, Day iii, the month to be supplied after MD must have been a lucky one. The nearest month of that kind is Simivisonios, and the vocable to be supplied is SIMI, which in fact occurs on that day in Year 1. This follows from Mr. Orpen's second rule.

P. 112. Fragment No. 2 with D four times unqualified must belong to an unlucky month; so it cannot be Cutios which was a lucky month. It may have been Giamon., say Year 1.

Fragment No. 3 has been assigned with some hesitation to Equos, and that is probably right, but the three SIMIVISO ought presumably to have not D but MD before each. The spelling with SIMI rather than SEMI would seem to suggest Year 5, but Years 2 and 3 are also available.

Fragment No. 5 with MD thrice without any indication of borrowing would seem to postulate a lucky month, so not only Cantlos, but also Giamonios and Elembivios, would be out of the question, though it resembles Elembivios and Giamonios.

There are other instances where Mr. Orpen's rules apply; but they are of no great importance here, so I abstain from tiring you with them, as the process of dealing with them is quite easy. I shall come presently to a more difficult order of cases.

I wish to mention that in the meantime Mr. Orpen undertook, for Year 1, the audit which he suggested in his review. The details are shown in the two tables hereto appended as pages 84, 85. The results show the totals of borrowed days amounting to 91 on both sides of the account; and a slightly different treatment of one or two of the data restored from analogy would enable one to analyse these totals into lucky and unlucky days of identical numbers on both sides. But, considering the state of the Calendar, Mr. Orpen does not wish to lay too much stress on the equation. He is convinced, however, that if we had a full text, all the equations would be found exact.

Recently Mr. Orpen sent me the following communication, dealing for the most part with the same questions:—'My analysis of the entries has led me to suspect that, if we had a complete and correct text, the last three rules stated on p. 373 of my review might be expressed more comprehensively and more logically as follows: (1) In a lucky (mat[us]) month all the days are lucky and are marked MD; except those borrowed from an unlucky (anm[atus]) month and those marked AMB as attendant elsewhere. These two classes are unlucky, or at least without any positive quality of good luck, and are marked D simply. (2) In an unlucky month all the days are unlucky or without good luck and are marked D; except those borrowed from a lucky

month and not also marked AMB. These alone are lucky, and are marked MD. There are a few entries in the text not in accordance with these rules, but these exceptional entries seem to conflict with analogous entries and are perhaps incorrect as they stand. The most difficult one to explain away is Duman. 9–11 where the triple RIVRI occurs. As Rivros is a lucky month these days ought to be marked MD. But the detached piece of the Tablet on which this entry occurs has been moved more than once, and is perhaps not yet in its right place, or *is not complete.* It would be normal, for instance, if it were:—

M D RIVRI
M D RIVRI
D RIVRI AMB.

'From these rules as above stated it would seem that what was transferred was not a day, but the quality or qualities of a day, denoted in the "transferee-day" by M or the omission of M, or as we may conjecture by good or bad luck. The borrowing from a month of different quality in respect of luck changes accordingly the quality of the transferee-day; but the good luck of a day, even the acquired good luck of an uneven-numbered day, is always lost to it if required to be attendant elsewhere (AMB). Moreover, from the fact that the borrowings centre about or immediately follow the times of the moon's changes, and from the facts that a lucky month sometimes borrows from a lucky month (as Ogron from Cutios and vice versa), and an unlucky from an unlucky month (as Equos from Elemb.), we may infer that other qualities, including the normal character of the weather, were also transferred. Indeed, the belief in this transference has survived, as you have shown, into the so-called Age of Reason.

'I think then that we need not suppose that any change was regarded as made in the succession of days, or any transfer of a period of time, but only that certain qualities of a day were transferred to another day, thus altering the normal qualities of the latter, or some of them, and depriving the transferor-day of its quality of good luck, if it enjoyed such.'

The simplification of his rules by Mr. Orpen has suggested itself to me also, and I began to examine the instances which seemed to stand in the way, in detail as follows:—

Samonios, Year 2, At. iv. As the month is a lucky one D here should be MD, which is the entry in Years 1, 4, 5. There is room and metal for the M, and Commandant Espérandieu has had MD printed.

TABLE I.* 'BORROWED DAYS' IN YEAR 1.

Day.	Samon. M.	Duman. ANM.	Rivros M.	Anag. ANM.	Ogron. M.	Cutios M.	Giamon. ANM.	Simivis. M.	Equos ANM.	Elemb. ANM.	Edrin. M.	Cantlos ANM.
1	1 D.	1 Sa.	1 A.	1 R.			1 Si.	1 G.			1 Ca.	1 Ed.
2												
3								3 Eq.	3 Si.			
4												
5	5 R. a.											
6								6 Eq.	6 Si.			
7	7 D.		7 A.	7 O.		7 G.	*7 Si.*	7 Eq.	7 El.		7 Ca.	
8			8 A.	8 O.	8 Cu.	8 G.	*8 Si.*	8 Eq.	8 El.		8 Ca.	
9	9 D.	9 R.	9 A.	9 O.	9 Cu.	9 G.	*9 Si.*	9 Eq.	9 El.		*9 Ca.*	
10		10 R.										
11		11 R.										
12												
13								13 Eq.	13 Si.			
14									14 Si.			
15								15 Eq.	15 Si.			
At. 1	1 D.	*1 Sa.*			1 Cu.	1 O.		*1 Eq.*	1 Si.	1 Ed.	1 El.	
2		*2 Sa.*			2 Cu.	2 O.		*2 Eq.*	2 Si.	2 Ed.	2 El.	
3					3 Cu. *a.*	3 O. *a.*		*3 Eq. a.*	3 Si. a.	3 Ed. a.	3 El. a.	
4												
5												
6								6 Eq.	*6 Si.*			
7	7 D. a.			7 O. a.		7 G.	7 Si. a.	7 Eq. a.	7 El. a.	7 Ed. a.		
8	8 D.			8 Cu.	8 Cu.	8 G.	8 Si.	8 Eq.	8 El.	8 Ed.		
9	9 D.			9 O. a.			9 Si. a.	9 Eq. a.	9 El. a.	9 Ed. *a.*		
10												
11								11 Eq. a.				
12												
13												
14												
15												
Totals	8	6	4	7	6	8	7	16	15	6	7	1

Total of Borrowed Days in Year 1 = 91, made up of 46 from lucky months and 45 from unlucky months.

* Italicized entries are conjecturally restored from analogy, and a. affixed signifies the addition of AMB, which is sometimes also a matter only of analogy.

Table II.* Days marked AMB. Year 1.

Day.	Samon. M.	Duman. ANM.	Rivros M.	Anag. ANM.	Ogron. M.	Cutios M.	Giamon. ANM.	Simivis. M.	Equos ANM.	Elemb. ANM.	Edrin. M.	Cantlos ANM.
1												
2												
3												
4												
5	5 R.						*5*		*5*	*5*	*5*	*5*
6												
7		*7*										
8												
9												
10												
11	11			11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
12												
13												
14												
15												
At. 1												
2												
3	3	3	3	3	*3 Cu.*	*3 O.*	3	*3 Eq.*	3 Si.	3 Ed.	3 El.	3
4												
5	*5*	*5*	*5*	*5*	*5*	*5*	*5*	*5*	*5*	*5*	*5*	*5*
6												
7	7 D.	7	7	7 O.	7		7 Si.	7 Eq.	7 El.	7 Ed.	7	7
8												
9			9	9 O.	9	9	9 Si.	9 Eq.	9 El.	9 Ed.	*9*	
10												
11	11	11	11	*11*	11	11		11 Eq.	11	11	11	11
12												
13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
14												
15	15		15		15	15		15	*15*		15	
Totals	8	6	7	7	8	7	7	8	9	8	9	7

Total of Days marked AMB in Year 1 = 91, forming an equation with the number of 'Borrowed Days' in the same Year, as in Table I; 47 AMB's are in lucky months and 44 in unlucky months.

* Italicized entries are restored, as in the other table, from analogy. Where the day is a borrowed day the initial of the month from which it is borrowed is added.

At. xi of the same month has already been dealt with (p. 81) by dropping the M.

Dumannios, Year 1, Days viiii, x, xi, may all have had MD instead of D, for the bronze is gone. Probably the first two entries were MD RIVRI. But, as Mr. Orpen has suggested, Day xi might be expected to have had D RIVRI AMB. The difficulty is that nobody appears to have detected that AMB. So if it is postulated one has the alternative of supposing the surface to have been badly worn or oxidized, or else that the inscriber forgot the word. I may say that I do not like either alternative.

At. vi of Year 2 has MD standing unqualified in an unlucky month, while the Year 3 has D only which is regular. The former might stand as part of an entry MD SAMON, but nobody seems to have detected SAMON there, and the alternative is to suppose it to have disappeared or the inscriber to have cut MD instead of D.

Anagantios, Year 4, Day vi, has D OGRONI, followed by three entries MD OGRONI. Commandant Espérandieu, reading the first D PRINNI, shows that the whole patch from v to x was very indistinct, which my notes corroborate. I think, therefore, that one may venture to treat Day vi as having had MD OGRONI.

Ogronios, Year 1, Day v, has only D, but the metal breaks off and the original was probably D AMB, with or without CVTIO.

The same month of Year 1, At. iii, has D CVtio with room for AMB between them, which would bring the entry into harmony with those of Years 3, 4, 5; but nobody seems to have detected the AMB.

Year 4 has At. vi reading only D: it should probably be MD as in Years 3, 5; but nobody has detected an M there: so the alternatives are like those mentioned under Dumannios, Year 1, Day xi.

Year 5 has on Days xiiii and xv the letter D. In the latter case the D may have been followed by AMB on a piece of the missing metal. Or in both cases, in harmony with Year 1, we may restore MD instead of D with the alternatives already described.

Cutios, Year 1, At. iii, has D OGRON, but as the metal breaks off after OGRON we are at liberty to treat the original entry as D OGRON AMB, in harmony with Year 5.

Year 5, Day xv, where I have had D printed, Commandant Espérandieu has MD.

Under the same year At. viii has D OGRONI. Here the bronze is gone with the perpendicular of the D: so we are at liberty to treat the original entry as MD.

Simivisonnios, Year 2, At. xii, has D where one ought to find MD

as in Year 1; and behind the D the bronze is gone, permitting us to suppose that as a matter of fact the original entry was MD.

Equos, Year 1, At. vi, has D SIMISO where there is room for MD, but nobody has detected an M there. SIMISO is a singular abbreviation, but I have no note to the effect that there is any difficulty as to the reading. BV on the corresponding day in Year 4 is also strange.

Year 4, At. iii, has been printed D sEMIV, but one is at liberty to suppose the original to have been MD SEMIV. One naturally compares it with the entry in Year 5, which is printed D SIMIVIS; but M. Lechat found the last word very hard to read, while Commandant Espérandieu hesitated between AMB and SEMIV. The whole bit is very blurred, and I agree with Mr. Orpen in suspecting that AMB should be placed here in Years 4 and 5 as in Year 1. Except in Giamonios the Atenoux. of all the months from Ogronios to Edrinios (both inclusive) commences with a triplet of borrowed days, the third of which is, or may be supposed to have been, in each case marked AMB.

Elembivios, Year 5, At. ii, has D EDR, where one would have expected MD EDR as in Year 2. The bronze is intact where the M should be, and we have nothing left us but the rather unwelcome alternatives with which we are already familiar.

Edrinios, Year 1, At. viiii and x, which have each the entry D. The first is D AMB in Years 2, 4, 5, and D CANTL in Year 3. The original here was probably D AMB: the bronze permits this. But in the case of At. x it is against our inserting M before the D, and leaves us the usual alternatives.

Year 2, At. viii, has D where Years 4 and 5 have MD and Year 3 D CANTL. The original entry was probably MD; the indistinct surface of the bronze favours it rather than D CANTL. At. x has D SIND IVOS preceded by the symbol IṪI, the vague similarity of which to an M would seem to have helped to make the inscriber forget that he should have inserted both. This conjecture would bring the entry into harmony with those in Years 4 and 5. Instead of IṪI MD SIND IVO Year 3 has only IṪI MD.

Cantlos, Year 1, Day i, has D AEDRIN, where we seem to want MD AEDRIN: the other four years have the MD before the name of the month from which the borrowing is made. By some accident the M does not appear in Commandant Espérandieu's entry beginning Year 3. I noted its presence and called M. Lechat's attention to it when he was collating the whole: he replied 'Le M est d'une netteté parfaite'.

It is possible that I have inadvertently omitted some cases that should have been considered, but, on looking through the foregoing notes on those here brought together, you will have seen that there are nine entries which present difficulties, namely, on the following dates:—

Dumannios, Year 1, Day xi.
„ Year 2, At. vi.
Ogronios, Year 1, At. iii.
„ Year 4, At. vi.
„ Year 5, Day xiiii.
Equos, Year 1, At. vi.
Elembivios, Year 5, At. ii.
Edrinios, Year 1, At. x.
Cantlos, Year 1, Day i.

The alternatives to which we seem to be left in these cases, are, that the surface of the bronze, owing to wear or oxidization, shows no traces of letters, or else that the missing word or letter was never inscribed, though it was intended to be inscribed. All this points to the desirability of having the above entries carefully examined with a good glass. In the case of the nine here specially mentioned this is particularly desirable; it would probably reduce their number. Even then the work cannot be considered complete without photographs of the whole Calendar as it stands.

Now that Mr. Orpen's theory of borrowed days has been sufficiently illustrated, I wish to point out very briefly how it helps in a somewhat different direction. It enables us to construe the letters AMB everywhere in one and the same sense as representing *ambachtos* (spelt probably *ambaxtos*, with X for Greek X), Latin *ambactus*, and signifying attendant, as in the case of the intercalary months. Just as MIDX AMBAXTOS was an attendant month, so D AMB was an attendant day, and it is worth noticing that even the abbreviation was the same. For the letter immediately preceding ANTARAN in line 5 of the second intercalary month appears to have been the B of AMB, and the designation in its original form was probably M AMB ANTARAN, for the full spelling MIDX AMBAXTOS ANTARANOS, which may be translated 'interloping attendant month'. All this renders unnecessary the dubious proceeding of postulating any reference to attendants or labourers belonging to the chief ruler of the Temple.

After the publication of Mr. Orpen's review, Dr. Fotheringham in a letter to me, dated April 10, 1911, dealt with certain points in it, as follows:—

'There can be no doubt that the figures CCCLXXXV in the

heading of the second intercalary month are fatal to my attempt to bring the Calendar of Coligny into harmony with the elements of lunar theory. I must, therefore, fall back on the two alternatives which I specified on p. 75 of your paper, viz. that the Calendar "must be either a quondam lunar calendar which had been allowed to become independent of the Moon, like the Calendar of the Roman Republic, or some crude and ignorant attempt at a lunar calendar, of a type that would have to be revised after the lapse of a very few years".[1]

'The error appears to me to be too gross to admit readily of the second of these explanations. As I pointed out in the passage referred to, the error, if allowed to accumulate, would after the lapse of 18 years make the months begin at the full moon instead of the new; to this I may add that if each month had a fixed duration, the error would as a matter of course accumulate.

'I therefore prefer to think that the Calendar, like that of the Roman Republic, had parted company with the moon, and I think there can be no reasonable doubt that the cause of the disturbance was the substitution of a 30-day for a 29-day Equos, in spite of which that month retained the unlucky character belonging to a 29-day month. Perhaps at an earlier date Equos had been given a 30th day when necessary, and at some date the Calendar was altered so as to give it a 30th day annually. One curious point of resemblance between this Calendar and that of the Roman Republic is that in each the length of an unintercalated year was 355 days instead of 354·4 days. I am not prepared to say whether the error was due to the operation of the same ideas among both races.

'Now, if I am right in supposing that the Calendar had parted company with the moon, it follows that any connexion of festivals or other observances with the phases of the moon must go back to a time before the corruption of the Calendar had taken place. In other words a festival on the 14th or 15th day of the month would have as much or as little connexion with the full moon as the Roman Ides had.

'The length of the individual months has no necessary connexion with the cycle of intercalations. In the modern Jewish and ancient Babylonian Calendars the 19-year cycle is used for intercalations but not for determining the lengths of the individual months. It is therefore quite possible that that cycle survived the addition of the 30th day to Equos in the Calendar before us. But we cannot prove this from the fragments. They show us intercalary months at the begin-

[1] Another suggestion which Dr. Fotheringham now prefers is set forth on pages 95–8 of this paper.

ning of the 1st year and the middle of the 3rd year, but not in the 2nd, 4th, and 5th years. The next intercalary month could not, therefore, have been earlier than the beginning of the 6th year. This gives us one interval of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years and one of either $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 years between intercalations. The only other calendar, so far as I know, where intercalary months had two fixed positions in the year, separated by six months, was the Babylonian. No such practice is known in any Greek calendar. The two intercalary months in the Babylonian Calendar come down from a remote antiquity. In the Babylonian 19-year cycle which dates from 381 B.C. at latest, the spring intercalation occurs 6 times and the autumn intercalation once in 19 years, but the preponderance of spring intercalations was much less pronounced before this cycle was adopted. In the Babylonian 19-year cycle, the successive intervals between intercalations were 3, 3, 2, 3, 3, $2\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. A more even distribution of intercalations would be obtained by the series $2\frac{1}{2}$, 3, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 3, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 3, $2\frac{1}{2}$. If the intercalary month is to be made to occupy one or other of two fixed positions in the year, any cycle of intercalations will be made up of intervals of $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 years, with perhaps, as at Babylon, occasional intervals of 2 years. The cycles will differ only in the arrangement of these intervals. But we cannot from one interval of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years and one of either $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3, deduce anything as to the arrangement of these intervals. If it was desired to make the mean length of the year the same as in the Julian Calendar, this could, with the recorded lengths for the individual months, be best achieved by a cycle of 120 years, containing 41 intercalations, 35 of which would occur after intervals of 3 years, and 6 after intervals of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. But we have no evidence for the existence of anything so scientific.

'The passage cited from Diodorus is, of course, evidence that the insular Celts of the time of Hecataeus of Abdera were already acquainted with the 19-year cycle. I have not sufficient knowledge of Celtic religion to be able to follow Mr. Orpen's objection to an epiphany of 68 days. A long festival could not, I suppose, be maintained on the same level of excitement as a short one, but a festival that only occurs once in 19 years is rather unique, and some of our watering-places have an annual season of festivity lasting as long as 68 days. A succession of pilgrims scattered over 68 days might bring in more offerings than a crowd concentrated upon 7 days, and might justify the priests in enduring the strain of the long epiphany.

'Nor do I feel inclined to attach much importance to Mr. Orpen's

objection that "the vernal equinox does not appear to have had any religious importance in the Celtic world". The festival which Diodorus is describing occurred at the beginning of an astronomical cycle, and the vernal equinox is of prime importance in the annual motion of the Sun. From the earliest times the signs of the zodiac have been made to begin at the vernal equinox, and it is a very natural starting-point for a cycle which is to depend on the relative positions of the Sun, the Moon, and the fixed stars. As the vernal equinox is the most salient phenomenon connected with the first sign of the zodiac, the heliacal rising of the Pleiades is the most salient connected with the second sign of the zodiac. It was, very possibly, the next phenomenon after the equinox, which the agricultural population observed in order to know the progress of the seasons, on which their lunar calendar threw very little light. It is notorious that the ancient Greeks and Romans recognized the seasons for agricultural operations by making astronomical observations. See Hesiod *passim*.

'I cannot accept Mr. Orpen's suggestion "that in the statement concerning the Hyperboreans the particular season when the cycle recommenced, and indeed possibly the length of the cycle itself, were taken from the calendar with which the writer was familiar and foisted into the story". Meton's cycle did not begin at the vernal equinox, but at the summer solstice, and the season at which the cycle is said to have recommenced among the Hyperboreans was therefore different from that with which the writer was familiar. The Babylonian 19-year cycle did, it is true, begin at or near the vernal equinox, but the writer was doubtless more familiar with the Greek than with the Babylonian cycles.

'Mr. Orpen suggests that Samonios in the first year commenced not only a new year, but a new cycle. I doubt whether we can prove this.[1] The five years covered by the inscription cannot be a complete cycle of intercalations, for they contain 1,835 days, whereas five Julian years contain no more than 1,826·25 days. The Calendar must have been a very crude one, if it accumulated an error of $8\frac{3}{4}$ days in five years. Fifty-two years of such a calendar would move each feast a distance of three months in the solar year. If the five years of the inscription are not a complete cycle of intercalations, can we be sure that they are even the beginning of a cycle, or anything more than the five years following a proclamation? Of course, the last year of a cycle would naturally end with an intercalation, but intercalations are

[1] But see page 97 below.

too frequent for us to infer anything from this. Mr. Orpen's point comes to this, that as Apollo (or Rivos) according to Hecataeus (?) was present to the insular Gauls at the beginning of a cycle, so Rivos's presence in the first year of this Calendar probably indicates that it is the beginning of a cycle. Now the initial point of a cycle is purely artificial. It may, therefore, have been reckoned from different years and different seasons at different temples. It is not likely that all the great temples had their festivals at the same season or for the same length of time. An epiphany of Rivos for 68 days in the spring at the great island temple at intervals of 19 years is, therefore, quite consistent with an epiphany of Rivos of shorter duration in the harvest season at a temple in Gaul at some unknown interval. The 19 years' interval was astronomical. Does it follow that the interval in the temple to which this inscription belongs was also astronomical? If not, there may have been a five years' cycle of feasts which bore no relation to the system of intercalation, and there may have been an epiphany of Rivos in the first year of each cycle of feasts. The shorter the epiphany, the easier it would be to arrange for it at frequent intervals. I think the whole of Mr. Orpen's criticism of the passage cited from Diodorus is strained, by the implied assumption that the epiphany there described is identical in season and duration and perhaps in interval with that of which mention is made in the Coligny Calendar.

'I note the reference to Greek pilgrims who made offerings at the island temple. The epiphany at that temple is clearly the occasion of a great festival (τὸν θεὸν κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ χορεύειν συνεχῶς τὰς νύκτας). This can hardly have been the case with the epiphany of Rivos in the Rivros of the Coligny Calendar, which takes place while all hands are busy with the harvest.'

With Dr. Fotheringham's permission I submitted his letter to Mr. Orpen, from whom I received a letter in reply, dated April 22, 1911. Omitting the preliminary remarks, I quote from the point at which the writer begins to argue 'that the quinquennium of the inscription commmenced (with Samonios) a new cycle', in the following terms:—

'Here I do not think that Dr. Fotheringham has done full justice to the argument. The idea that the epiphany of the god occurred in the first year of a new cycle was suggested by the close analogy of the case of the Hyperboreans, but I went on to show that the hypothesis enables us to identify with something like precision the formulae in the calendar referring to the great Celtic *aonachs* (or *oenachs*), and, if I am not mistaken, assigns them to the dates in the first year

corresponding to the solar dates with which they were eventually equated. Now if we ask how was it that these *aonachs* came to be fixed on the Kalends of May, &c., it seems a probable conjecture that when the Celtic tribes adopted a solar calendar (the Julian) instead of their former lunar one—probably after they became Christians—they fixed the dates of their semi-Christianized *aonachs* on the solar dates corresponding to the lunar dates in the first year of a new cycle, when these dates were not very disparate.

'I do not say that this argument is in itself convincing, but if I am right in thinking that the equation Samonios 1 (Year 1) = June 1 (commencing at sunset) yields the best results, this fact seems to lend considerable support to what is already suggested by the Hyperborean analogy.

'I should perhaps say that I never supposed that the quinquennium of the inscription represented a *complete* cycle, but only that it commenced one. Indeed, in this last review I avoided giving any opinion about the length of the cycle. Perhaps it would be worth while asking Dr. Fotheringham, who knows so much more about Calendars than I do, whether my former suggestion that the Athenian civil year presents the closest analogy will hold water. I have no good books on the subject, but I somehow gathered that "the Athenian civil year, from the time of Cleisthenes at any rate, consisted of 12 lunar months of 29 and 30 days alternately, making 354 days in all. This was brought into periodic harmony with the solar year by taking a cycle of 8 years and intercalating a month of 30 days in the 1st, 3rd, and 6th year. . . . The periodic harmony was not fractionally exact, &c." (*Journ. R. S. A. I.* as before). Now allowing for the mistake or corruption as to Equos, this seems to agree with our Calendar. I am still inclined to think that our Calendar was originally derived from the Greeks of Massilia, and that the old 8-year cycle may have been retained. It must, however, have got dislocated by the mistake as to Equos, if that was repeated for any length of time.

'I cannot think with Dr. Fotheringham that the Coligny Calendar had parted company with the moon. The whole framework of the Calendar seems to me to be lunar, and as I pointed out the "borrowed days", like the changes of weather in present popular belief, centre about the changes of the moon. This mistake as to Equos may not have been of long standing, may conceivably have been made for the first time in this Tablet, and may have been corrected. It is easier to my mind to suppose something of this sort than to suppose that the great seasonal festivals had gone very far astray. Dr. Fotheringham

says, "it is not likely that all the great temples had their festivals at the same season." But all our evidence goes to show that in Ireland, at all events, the great *aonachs* were always held on the same dates, though different places were associated with the chief celebrations of each festival. Moreover, as you have mentioned in *Celtic Heathendom* (p. 421), there is evidence tending to show that at Lyons, Lugudunum, the city of Lug (not very far from Coligny), the Lugnassad or its counterpart was celebrated, as in Ireland, on a day equated with the 1st of August.

'The 8-year cycle works out as follows:—

$$(354 \times 8) + 90 = 2{,}922 \text{ days},$$
$$365\tfrac{1}{4} \times 8 = 2{,}922 \text{ days}.$$

But undoubtedly the passage from Diodorus suggests that the Metonic cycle had been adopted by the Celtic tribes generally, and this as Dr. Fotheringham has shown, if correctly used, involves a month of variable length.'

On the question of the derivation of the Coligny Calendar from the Greeks of Massilia, raised by Mr. Orpen, Dr. Fotheringham wrote to me on August 16, 1911, as follows:—

'We know nothing of the non-Attic civil calendars except the names of the months and the seasons of the year when they fell, and even in these respects our information is very defective. We know nothing at all of the Calendar of Massilia, but we know a great deal about the scientific astronomical calendars, and we have a good deal of evidence for the history of the Athenian civil calendar, which must have been widely known. The oldest 19-year cycle, that of Meton, began in 432 B.C., and the 19-year cycle is generally supposed to have been officially adopted at Athens about 340 B.C., but the intercalations do not appear to have been made with strict regularity. The 19-year cycle must have been well known at Massilia long before the date of these fragments, though in the absence of all direct evidence it is impossible to say whether it was officially adopted. The intercalations recorded on the fragments would fit equally well into a 19-year or an 8-year cycle.

'The lunar character of the framework of the Calendar does not, in my opinion, prove that it had not parted company with the moon. My suggestion is that the framework had remained when its *raison d'être* had departed. The Roman festivals were mainly at what had once been the four quarters of the moon, but retained their positions in the calendar months long after these had ceased to have any relation to the actual lunar phases.

'The Greek 8-year cycle, according to Geminus, contained (354×8)

$+90+1\frac{1}{2} = 2{,}923\frac{1}{2}$ days, whereas 8 solar years $= 365\frac{1}{4} \times 8 = 2{,}922$ days. He states that the equation between the mean calendar and solar year was established by omitting one intercalary month every 160 years. He does not tell us how the 3 additional days in each 16 years were inserted. Probably 3 of the 10 non-intercalary years were made to consist of 355 instead of 354 days. So the 8-year cycle, like the 19-year cycle, involves a month of variable length.'

Dr. Fotheringham, I may add, is still unconvinced by Mr. Orpen's reasoning as to the dates of the great Irish festivals: they were, he maintains, fixed on the calends of May, August, and November because they were calends. He is also unconvinced as to the beginning of the quinquennium being also the beginning of a cycle,[1] and adds the words :—'I am much more struck by what Mr. Orpen says about borrowed days. This seems to me convincing, but I do not propose to work through the audit.'

I take this opportunity of recording my cordial thanks to both of my learned friends for what I cannot help regarding as serious and far-reaching contributions to the elucidation of a very difficult document of great antiquity. As will be seen, however, this does not mark the limit of either's help. I have received from Dr. Fotheringham the following very important note dated October 5 :—

'Since my last letter to you on the Coligny Calendar, Mr. W. H. Forbes, of Balliol, has called my attention to the resemblance between the holes against the numbers of the days in the Coligny Calendar, and the similar holes in the fragments of "parapegmata" or solar calendars discovered in the winter of 1902–3 at Miletus, and discussed by Diels and Rehm, *Parapegmenfragmente aus Milet*, in Sitzungsberichte d. k. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften (1904), i, pp. 92–111, by Dessau, *Zu den Milesischen Kalenderfragmenten*, ibid., pp. 266–8, and by Rehm, *Weiteres zu den Milesischen Parapegmen*, ibid., pp. 752–9. A comparison of these Calendars has induced me to offer some suggestions, which may, I hope, be not without value.

'The fragments discovered at Miletus belong to two, perhaps more, "parapegmatà," and date from somewhere about 100 B. C. One of these bears a name which Dr. Rehm has restored as Epicrates, but which Professor Dessau suggests may be really Anticrates; the other records an observation, apparently recent, at a date which would fall in 109 B. C. In the text of each Calendar no notice is taken of the civil or lunar year, but a series of astronomical (and in the Calendar of "Epicrates" also of meteorological) phenomena is recorded, which are

[1] But see the letter which follows the next paragraph.

supposed to retain a fixed place in the solar year. In the Calendar of 109 B. C. the year is subdivided according to the passage of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac, but in the Calendar of "Epicrates" there appears to be no subdivision of the year. Neither Calendar assigns any numbers to individual days, but in both Calendars there is a hole against each day, even against those to which no phenomenon is assigned. Each Calendar has an explanatory introduction, the existing fragments of which relate in the one instance to the history of the equation of the solar and lunar calendars, and in the other instance to the methods to be adopted in placing pegs in the holes against the different days. The fragmentary condition of the Calendars renders it impossible to state with certainty what these rules were. It appears, however, that the holes were called κυκλίσκοι, and the word for placing the peg is παραπηγνύναι, from which Dr. Rehm, doubtless correctly, derives the name παράπηγμα. The name used for the peg does not appear, but from Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, v. 14. 1, I infer that it was παράπηγμα. The παράπηγμα would, therefore, be properly something "fixed beside", i. e. the peg beside the entry for the day, from which it came to mean the whole Calendar which was planned out by means of these pegs. The Calendar of "Epicrates" in which the directions for placing the pegs were found is, unfortunately, in too mutilated a condition to render it possible to restore these rules with any certainty. It is, however, clear that the pegs had to be moved at the completion of some period, either a year or a month, and that some at least of them served to indicate days. Dr. Rehm is of opinion that the pegs were used to indicate the first day of each lunar month, and that there were also numbered pegs to indicate the different days of each month. If he is correct in this opinion, it would follow that the pegs indicating the months would have to be moved at the end of each year, because the lunar months would not begin on the same days of the solar year in two consecutive years, and the pegs indicating the days would have to be moved each month in order to mark out the days of the new month. He quotes, however, an opinion of Herr Bilfinger[1] that, while the month-pegs were fixed each year, there was only one day-peg, which was moved daily and always stood opposite the current date. This would agree with your suggestion, quoted by Mr. Nicholson in his *Keltic Researches*, p. 120 note. Of the two opinions about the day-pegs I incline to prefer Dr. Rehm's, because in the Metonic cycle, to which the

[1] *Die öffentlichen Kalender im alten Griechenland*, Württembergischer Staatsanzeiger, April 22, 1904, pp. 65 ff.

παραπήγματα must have been originally accommodated, all the months were made to run to a 30th day, but every 64th day was omitted (Geminus, *Clementa Astronomiae*, viii. 52–6). It was, therefore, impossible to indicate the lunar date by merely marking the first day of the lunar month; it would be necessary to number the individual days, so as to indicate whether any day, and, if so, which day, was to be omitted from the lunar reckoning. The use of the pegs to mark the lunar months on a solar calendar will explain the object of the introduction to the Milesian Calendar of 109 B. C., which, as has been seen above, deals with the history of the equation of the solar and lunar calendars. The use of these pegs seems to me to be further illustrated by two passages from Cicero, one of which is quoted in the note in Mr. Nicholson's *Keltic Researches*. These are *Ad Atticum*, v. 14. 1 "In prouincia mea fore me putabam Kal. Sextilibus. Ex ea die, si me amas, παράπηγμα ἐνιαύσιον commoueto", and *Ad Atticum*, v. 15. 1 "Laodiceam ueni pridie Kal. Sext. Ex hoc die clauum anni mouebis". Here we have a movable παράπηγμα ἐνιαύσιον or "clauus anni" used to indicate the beginning of the official year. It makes no difference whether in the particular passages the phrase is to be taken literally or metaphorically. The metaphor would not have been intelligible, had it not been the custom to use a παράπηγμα to indicate the beginning of some year other than that for which the Calendar was constructed.

'This much at least is clear, that the pegs were used to indicate dates which had no fixed place in the Calendar in which they were inserted, such for instance as the beginning of the official as distinct from the tropical year, or the beginning of the lunar month, and they were clearly used in some way to mark the days. Now, if the pegs in a solar calendar like those of Miletus were used to indicate lunar dates, it is not improbable that the pegs in the lunar calendar of Coligny were used to indicate solar dates, very likely the dates of the Julian Calendar. If so, it is probable that the five years of the inscription are not merely the five years following a proclamation, but a cycle of five years. If the Calendar was meant to apply only to five particular years, the Julian date of each day would have been known and it would have been possible to inscribe it on the Calendar, but, if the Calendar applied to a cycle of five years, not exactly corresponding to five Julian years, there would be no definite equation of each day on the Calendar of Coligny with a Julian day, and the Julian months and days would have to be indicated by means of the movable pegs.

'The idea that the five years were a cycle carries with it further possibilities. There is no astronomical cycle of five years, and the

five years must, therefore, make up a cycle of feasts, which repeats itself irrespective of astronomical cycles. This may help us to explain the excessive frequency of intercalations and of 30-day months. To equate the lunar and solar reckoning there ought to be 7 intercalations in 19 years or 35 intercalations in 95 years. But this Calendar presents us with 2 intercalations in 5 years, which would amount to 38 intercalations in 95 years; in order, therefore, to make the Calendar true to the sun, it would be necessary to omit one of the intercalary months three times in 95 years. Similarly the Calendar gives us 37 months of 30 days in 62 months, whereas the true proportion would be only 33 in 62 months, so that it would be necessary four times in every five years to omit the final day of one of the months of 30 days. When I believed that the Calendar was intended to apply to five particular years, I was driven, after a vain attempt at another explanation, to suppose that the Calendar was one which had parted company with the moon. I now offer the suggestion that the Calendar was truly lunar, but that every month and every day that were ever required, were inserted upon it. If they were not required in the particular year or month, they would not be marked out with pegs, and an intercalary month would be dropped, doubtless after a proclamation, or no 30th day would be given to Equos, as the case might be. But, if they were required, there they were in the Calendar, just as the 29th of February has its place in our table of calendar lessons, and the 27th Sunday after Trinity has its place in our table of proper lessons. This explains again the fact that Equos was regarded as unlucky. The month would normally contain 29 days. About once in every five years, but not, apparently, always in the same year of the cycle, it would receive a 30th day, to make the Calendar agree with the moon, but its character of ill luck was not affected by this calendarial exigency.'

From associating the Coligny Calendar with the Museum in Lyons, which possesses it, I have fallen into the habit of treating the two places as being quite near one another, which they are not. Coligny is about half an hour's distance by rail from Bourg-en-Bresse, the capital of the Department of the Ain, and Bourg, the name of which I heard pronounced *Bourk*, is about thirty-five miles from Lyons. I visited Coligny, from Bourg, on August 21, 1910, and was met at the station by M. Roux, of Charmoux, near Coligny, the proprietor of the ground where the bronze fragments were discovered. The station is a short mile from Coligny, to which we went in a public conveyance. From there we set out on foot following the high road leading north to Lons-le-Saulnier, the capital of the Department of the Jura. We

followed that road some 1,200 metres, I am told, and then turned suddenly to our right into a vineyard. Walking from the road about 100 metres, we arrived on the spot where the bronze fragments were found in a hole about 40 centimetres below the surface. There is nothing to distinguish the spot except a young cherry-tree which M. Roux has planted there awaiting an inscription, which it is his intention to put up. The field of which the vineyard consists rises very gently from the high road until it reaches the bottom of the hill to the right of the high road, which is much steeper. Along the side of the hill there is supposed to lie the course of a Roman road, the position of which was indicated to me by M. Roux: roughly speaking it seemed to be parallel with the course of the present high road on the lower ground. Retracing our steps to the latter from the cherry-tree, we pursued the road a short distance further until we came to a stone which looked freshly worked and inscribed marking the boundary between the Departments of the Ain and the Jura. It is worth while recalling the fact, that the Jura is the Department in which the other bit of an ancient calendar was found, resembling those of the Coligny one: see my *Celtae & Galli*, p. 1.

I have been told that one finds on the land of M. Roux and that of his immediate neighbours what was described as 'des débris très menus de tuiles et de poterie rouge'. Among others that statement had reached M. Dissard, but M. Roux did not seem to have any vivid recollection of that kind: he called my attention to certain geological shells which we could see in one part of the vineyard lying exposed on the surface. To my question whether all the bronze of the find had been given to M. Dissard when he effected the purchase, he returned a very decided affirmative. I asked this because I had in my mind the suspicion which I have heard whispered in Paris, that, in spite of the proprietor, bits of it had found their way into the hands of his neighbours and had never been recovered. I do not think this story is believed in Lyons: I did not pursue the subject.

Lastly, the Temple in which the Calendar had been set up was probably situated near the Roman road, at a spot whence it would have been comparatively easy for a man to carry the bronze down hill in order to have it hidden to await an opportunity for taking it away, an opportunity which presumably never came. The Temple had probably been deserted and fallen into decay, so the thief may be supposed to have smashed the bronze tablet and the statue of the god before he began to carry the metal away to where he had dug a hole for it in the ground, at a spot which at that time was perhaps concealed by some kind of forest growth. Probably an archæologist who is an

experienced judge of sites would have no great difficulty in discovering the exact spot, and in bringing to light most valuable relics of a long forgotten past including among them many more fragments of the Calendar. The following note of Mr. Orpen's may prove of help in searching for the site of the Temple:—

'Assuming that the ritual was analogous to that of the prehistoric Gaelic tribes in Ireland, we might expect to find close to the site of the Temple an artificial mound, probably sepulchral in origin, or a shaped hillock, with perhaps a pillar stone and a flat lump of a stone near by. At least I think such a mound (which I have called vaguely a "ceremonial mound") and generally such stones are, or were, to be found in Ireland at the sites associated with the ancient aonachs and with the traditional inauguration places of prehistoric chieftains, e. g. at Cruachan, Tara, Emain Macha, Magh Adhair, and perhaps Clogher. Also at inauguration places used in early historic times; as at Carnfree, Carnawley, Tullaghog, and at several places named Cruachan[1] ("a heap").

'The existence of such a mound or hillock at or near the site of the Temple is indicated in the Calendar by the entry on the 4th day of Rivros in the 2nd and following years, namely, BRIG RIVROS, where *brig* is the Irish *bri*, 'a hill' (as in Cruachán Bri Eile, the inauguration place of the O'Conor Faly), and where the meaning, as you have pointed out, seems to be that the firstfruits were on that day carried to the hill as an offering to the god, just as was probably done at our Lugnassad. If such a mound or hillock can be detected it ought to be a great help in locating the site, but of course it may have been improved away by the modern vindemiator.'

Is the search here suggested too much to expect of French archæology? I appeal to M. Reinach and Commandant Espérandieu.

[1] Here Mr. Orpen refers to his paper on 'Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland', *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1907, pp. 143–7, and to another paper in the September number of this year, pp. 267–76.

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